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ABSTRACT

Papers from this year's conference reflect the Roundtable's theme of addressing cultural issues in an organizational context. Topics cover a wide range of institutional and organizational issues in corporate, educational, and treatment settings. Papers include: (1) "The New Corporate Language for Race Relations" (keynote) (Clayton P. Alderfer); (2) "Preparing Institutions for Cultural Diversity" (Elizabeth Davis-Russell); (3) "The Struggle for Voice: Institutional Deafness and Student Diversity" (Kathryn Herr and Gary Anderson); (4) "Career Education for the Disadvantaged Hispanic Adolescent: Statement of the Problem and Possible Solutions" (Daniel T. Sciarra); (5) "Clarence Thomas, Anita Hill, and Us: A Group Relations Perspective on Issues of Diversity, Power, and Authority" (Debra A. Noumair, And Others); (6) "The Cultural Dilemma of Educating Organizations" (Samuel D. Johnson, Jr.); (7) "The Relationship between White Counselors' Racial Identity Attitudes and Their Responses to White Clients Presenting Racial Issues" (Nancy G. Ochs); (8) "Anxiety Disorders in African-Americans: Diagnosis and Treatment in an Urban Hospital Setting" (Cheryl M. Paradis, And Others); (9) "School Based Cross-Cultural Assessment: Science, Hunch, or Stereotype?" (Alberto Bursztyn); (10) "Working the Boundaries: Cultural Issues in Therapy with Incarcerated Sex Offenders" (Kay E. Jackson); (11) "The Role of Multicultural Variables in Assessing and Counseling the HIV-Infected Client" (Mary Ann Hoffman); (12) "Language and Social Context in a Cross-Cultural Workforce" (Roberto Cortez Gonzalez, And Others); (13) "The Role of Accreditation in Enhancing Cultural Diversity in Psychology Graduate and Professional Training Programs" (Joseph F. Aponte); and (14) "Empowerment in Group Therapy: Cognitive Therapy with African-Americans in an Inner-City Psychiatric Clinic" (Eric R. Aronson and Andiea M. Harris). (SLD)

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

**The 1992 Teachers College Winter Roundtable**
**Edited Conference Proceedings**

# Addressing Cultural Issues In An Organizational Context

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction . . . . . vii

## THEORY

Keynote Address: The New Corporate Language for Race Relations—Clayton P. Alderfer . . . 1

Preparing Institutions for Cultural Diversity—Elizabeth Davis-Russell . . . . . 8

The Struggle for Voice: Institutional Deafness and Student Diversity—Kathryn Herr & Gary Anderson . . . . . 13

Career Education for the Disadvantaged Hispanic Adolescent: Statement of the Problem and Possible Solutions—Daniel T. Sciarra . . . . . 19

Clarence Thomas, Anita Hill, and Us: A Group Relations Perspective on Issues of Diversity, Power and Authority—Debra A. Noumair, Ann Fenichel, & Jennifer L. Fleming . . . . . 26

The Cultural Dilemma of Educating Organizations—Samuel D. Johnson, Jr. . . . . 32

## RESEARCH

The Relationship Between White Counselors' Racial Identity Attitudes and Their Responses to White Clients Presenting Racial Issues—Nancy G. Ochs . . . . . 35

Anxiety Disorders in African-Americans: Diagnosis and Treatment in an Urban Hospital Setting—Cheryl M. Paradis, Marjorie Hatch, & Steven Friedman . . . . . 39

School Based Cross-Cultural Assessment: Science, Hunch or Stereotype?—Alberto Bursztyn . . . . . 45

## APPLICATION

Working the Boundaries: Cultural Issues in Therapy with Incarcerated Sex Offenders—Kay E. Jackson . . . . . 52

The Role of Multicultural Variables in Assessing and Counseling the HIV-Infected Client—Mary Ann Hoffman . . . . . 56

Language and Social Context in a Cross-Cultural Workforce—Roberto Cortéz Gonzalez, Mary-Wales North, Kathrine A. Ricks, & Joan L. Biever . . . . . 62

The Role of Accreditation in Enhancing Cultural Diversity in Psychology Graduate and Professional Training Programs—Joseph F. Aponte . . . . . 73

Empowerment in Group Therapy: Cognitive Issues with African-Americans in an Inner-City Psychiatric Clinic—Eric R. Aronson & Andiea M. Harris . . . . . 81

# Introduction

Samuel D. Johnson, Jr., and Robert T. Carter, Editors

This year's proceedings reflect the Roundtable's theme of addressing cultural issues in an organizational context. The topics of the selected papers cover a wide range of institutional and organizational issues in corporate, educating and treatment settings. In every case they provide insight into the complexity of the consequences of incorporating cultural knowledge into the application, research, and theory of applying psychology.

The Theory section of the volume opens with Alderfer's insightful commentary on the "New Corporate Language for Race Relations" in which he notes the peculiarities of language use in corporate discourse on diversity. We were all enlightened by his keynote address and the text is just as informative. Dr. Elizabeth Davis-Russell offers a useful perspective on the kinds of preparation and adaptation required for educating institutions to constructively adapt to a multicultural agenda. Its contribution to the volume is significant and most useful for educational managers. Drs. Herr and Anderson give substance to the subtleties of operationalizing the value of student voices as a means of understanding the complexity of student identity formation in culturally diverse educational settings. Their work will be of great value to educators and educational specialists. Daniel Sciara examines the cultural issues attendant to effectively guiding the career development o Hispanic adolescents. His work succeeds in offering both a definition of the problem and options for their solution. Dr. Noumair and her colleagues Fenichel and Fleming offer an insightful analysis of the national experience of the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings from the perspective of group relations theory. Their work serves as a valuable heuristic for assessing the conflicting identifications associated with understanding sexual harassment across multiple contexts. The section concludes with commentary by Sam Johnson, roundtable founder and frequent contributor, who offers his perspective on the dilemmas faced by managers of educating organizations in the era of multiculturalism.

Our research section contains three valuable empirical studies, each of which illustrates culture's consequences in useful ways. Nancy Ochs addresses a recurrent issue in the Roundtable's history: racial identity attitudes. Her study examines the relationship between racial identity attitudes of white counselors and their responses to the presenting racial issues of their white clients. It is a promising start to an important line of inquiry. Cheryl Paradis and her colleagues Marjorie Hatch and Steven Friedman provide an excellent illustration of how clinical research can inform and improve practice. Their efforts in elucidating the cultural issues associated with diagnosing anxiety disorders in African Americans is a model piece of research. Alberto Bursztyn's study of psychological assessment in a school-based setting is also important as a result of inquiry that attempts to understand how culture makes a difference in psychological applications. His work is valuable to educators as well as clinical specialists.

The final section of this volume is the Applications section which contains five contributions. The first is by Dr. Kay Jackson who offers her perspective on how culture is operationalized in the treatment of sex offenders. Her experiences and applications of issues is indeed insightful. Mary Ann Hoffman applies cultural knowledge in the context of counseling clients who are HIV positive. Her contribution is both timely and valuable. Roberto Cortez Gonzalez and his colleagues offer a compendium of resources in understanding the role of language in the social context of work. Their application of social constructionism offers both definition and possible solutions of timely workforce concerns. Dr. Joseph Aponte examines the role of accreditation as a stimulus for enhancing the diversity of graduate and professional training in psychology. His comprehensive overview is of great value to anyone involved in graduate training. The section closes with the contribution of Aronson and Harris presenting a model for conducting group therapy with African-Americans.

Taken together, these papers provide the reader with the best example of the Roundtable's intended purpose as a forum and clearing house for emergent thinking in applying knowledge in the practice of psychology. We are pleased to offer it to you as an aid in our collective efforts toward greater understanding.

# The New Corporate Language for Race Relations

**Clayton P. Alderfer, Ph.D.**

*Yale School of Organization and Management*

## Introduction

My professional work with race relations began in the early 1970's, a period when the United States was still responding progressively to the changes wrought by the Civil Rights Movement. Even though the country had had two successive Republican presidents, Nixon and Ford, the overall sense was one of having to effect change. There was a conscious awareness of the many forms of bias against black people in the United States, and there was a collective sentiment toward reducing and eliminating the destructive forces of racism.

Today we are living in a very different era—a time of profound collective regression. The year of dramatic change was 1980, which included the campaign and the election of Ronald Reagan to the White House. As president, Reagan chose to rely on Edwin Meese and William Bradford Reynolds, two white male graduates of Yale, for legal advice and strategy about changing race relations. Inheriting the Reagan tradition, George Bush, also a white male graduate of Yale, has chosen to continue similar patterns for political campaigns, judicial appointments, and legislative programs. Bush's administrative appointments, on the other hand, to a limited degree, do not follow the Reagan mold. This observation, of course, excludes the Vice President and several members of the White House staff.

The Bush to Nixon comparison is important for a number of reasons. To the conventionally thinking observer—and perhaps also to the professionally trained psychologist—Nixon was the more disturbed personality. He is the man with the publicly known enemies list and the secret break-ins. With his own hand, Nixon took himself out of the presidency in order to keep from being impeached. George Bush, on the other hand, has set records for personal and political popularity, even though currently that standing is in question—being challenged by the likes of David Duke and Patrick Buchanan. Until the summer of 1991, the Democratic Party was unable to find candidates to challenge Bush in the 1992 election. Bush, moreover, has in his senior leadership group Louis Sullivan and Colin Powell, two black men of visible competence and forcefulness. There were no equivalents to Sullivan and Powell in the Nixon administration.

But George Bush also campaigned for and won the presidency using the Willie Horton commercial, which played to the racist fears of white Americans. More recently, his White House staff, for a time, blocked efforts by white male business leaders and black civil rights leaders to forge a civil rights bill that would reverse the regression in race relations spawned by Reagan, Meese, and Reynolds. Now, we have such a law—but it is a law whose meaning and practical effects are impossible to know.

I believe that George Bush is a different, more open personality than either Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan. It is the collective dimensions of the Bush leadership on race relations that supports the fears of white Americans about black Americans. It is the group-centered aspects of the Bush Presidency on matters of race that evoke less black-white cooperation, that stimulate more polarized discussions, and that fail to counteract the societal forces that result in continuing harm to black Americans. The language used to discuss race relations is a key part of that collective leadership.

## Racial Double Talk

With the conservative revolution has come a variety of new language forms for talking about race relations. Among the better known is "reverse discrimination." What is reverse discrimination? When employed as part of the new corporate language for discussing race relations, it means that a white man believes he did not get a job or a promotion, because a person of a different race or gender, who usually is assumed to be less qualified, received the opportunity.

How is reverse discrimination different than just plain discrimination? If a white man is treated unfairly because of his race and gender, why is that reverse discrimination? Do we white men need a special language to protest when we believe unfairness is directed at us because of our race and gender? Maybe there are other reasons for this particular word choice.

"Reverse discrimination!" can also be a command. In this sense, such an order might be given by the authorized leader or by a legitimized group (e.g., the President or the Supreme Court of the United

States; the Chief Executive Officer or the Board of Directors of a corporation). Here the meaning is to reverse the discrimination that characterizes our society and its organizations. Now what does it mean when someone says, "I am against reverse discrimination," in this second sense? It means that the speaker prefers not to reverse the discrimination that characterizes our society and its organizations. How, if at all, is the meaning of "reverse discrimination" in the first sense different than that in the second sense? I do not think it is.

Reverse discrimination is just one of the new language forms to talk about race relations that have been introduced with the conservative revolution. With careful listening and thoughtful reflection, one can identify a number of these new language forms, uncover their double meanings, and explain their origins and consequences. Then interpretations can be offered in the spirit of that great philosopher of practical significance, Yogi Berra.

As manager of the New York Yankees baseball team, Yogi was fired after winning the American League pennant; he thereby learned the meaning of meritocracy in practice. He articulated such principles as, "You can hear a lot by listening," and, "You can see a lot by looking." While some people might imagine that Berra's principles have been widely adopted by social scientists, his ideas remain controversial among mainstream academics. The result is that Berra himself is not as revered as he might deserve to be.

Despite what might seem like appearances to the contrary, this talk is not meant to be a political statement—except that with some validity one can say, "Everything is political." The concrete examples cited here are taken from publicly available documents as a matter of convenience. Information from newspapers and magazines is not confidential, while comparable statements made during education, research or consultation are protected. The kinds of events described here are not unique to the actors described. They are, in fact, quite common. William Bradford Reynolds, Edwin Meese, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush are simply public figures whose racial double talk makes the newspapers. What they say differs little from private leaders whose words are not quoted in the daily press. The problems addressed here are collective issues, not just characteristics of individual personalities.

At the root of the racial double talk are basic dilemmas for speakers. In some cases, of course, people speak with the aim of deceiving or of covering up what they intend by code language. But even in these instances, the basic dilemma still exists, and speakers remain unaware of how much they tell us, if we listen, as Yogi advises.

When George Bush announced his nomination of Clarence Thomas to replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court, he said that Thomas' race had nothing to do with the selection. The next day on a national television news program, when former Attorney General Edwin Meese was asked whether he thought Thomas' race had influenced the nomination, he answered affirmatively. Meese was then asked whether he was calling the President of the United States a liar. Meese replied, "I wouldn't say that."

The complications shown in the statements by Bush and Meese were caused by a conflict about race with all of its difficult emotions, on the one hand, and a desire to say the right thing, on the other. The new language of racial double talk is a means to express more of a speakers' messages about race relations than is possible, if saying the right thing were all that occurred. The strong emotions associated with racial questions make it extremely difficult for people only to say the right thing. Listening to the language of racial double talk is helped, if one holds the hypothesis that speakers are telling us more rather than less by their words—even if their conscious intentions may not be to communicate as fully as they do.

The benefit of this kind of examination is that it can make direct talk about race relations more possible. People can understand that despite their best intentions to say only the right thing, they actually say more. Despite wishes to the contrary, race relations is a complicated subject. Sound communication calls for the capacity to engage in more complete rather than more simplified conversation. Understanding that complications exist, whether or not we want them, can be a stimulus for dealing with the difficulties explicitly rather than covertly.

But there are also potential hazards. The current dispute about what it means to be "politically correct" is in part a response to an inability to speak fully and respectfully about race relations. Speakers from the left believe that they need to be able to call certain phenomena "racism" and certain people "racists" in order to stop destructive practices. Respondents from the right say they believe that such talk inhibits free speech. As speakers from the left engage in name calling, they increase the defensiveness of speakers from the right. As the speakers from the right object to pressures they feel to speak in ways they say are politically correct, they act to limit what others of different views feel free to say. In the name of promoting free speech, they limit what is acceptable talk. The pattern of mutual accusation is maintained by both sides.

I believe that both reducing racially abusive practices and supporting free speech are important val-

ues. Moreover, I do not believe that one of these values can always be dominant. Depending on the context, for example, a leader who stands only for free speech tacitly gives permission for racially abusive practices to occur. On the other hand, individuals whose aim primarily is to control the language of others create an atmosphere wherein learning by listening is inhibited, because people become fearful of speaking honestly.

I recognize that what is spoken here might be experienced by some as yet another form of pressure to limit speech. In fact, my aim is to expand rather than to contract the domain of conversations about race relations. Racial double talk like other forms of double talk, has two disastrous effects on communication. First, it gives mixed messages, and, second, it prevents conversation about the conflicting signals. By identifying the multiple messages, I hope to eliminate the prohibition against discussing the conflicts in the messages and, therefore, to allow more of what is said to be overt rather than covert. To the extent that happens, racial double talk can be replaced by sophisticated conversations; speakers will feel more free to speak openly, and the need for racially abusive talk as a means of self defense will decrease. Additional analyses of the prime examples of white racial double talk now follow.

## Being Against Quotas

To begin a discussion of "quotas," one must acknowledge that virtually everyone who speaks is against quotas. George Bush is against quotas, and the Democrat majority in Congress is against quotas. As a matter of personal reflection, you might think whether you have ever heard someone speak who is in favor of quotas. I never have, and I have been working professionally on race relations for more than 20 years. If virtually no one speaks on behalf of quotas, why do so many individuals representing so many groups speak so forcefully and so often against that which no one speaks for? What is going on here?

Historically, the idea of quotas meant limiting the numbers of certain racial, ethnic, cultural, or religious groups to a fixed proportion of memberships in predominantly Anglo organizations. An Ivy League university, for example, might have a policy of admitting no more than 10% of Jewish applicants, regardless of the applicant's grades and test scores. In this sense, the idea of quotas ran directly counter to what today is called meritocracy. Certain group memberships were the basis for keeping people out rather than taking them in based on their written record of academic accomplishments.

In the new corporate language for race relations, the meaning of being against quotas is different. As the words are used today, the meaning of being against quotas is something like observing and counting how many people who are different than white men occupy positions in various places in corporate hierarchies. Usually the jobs receiving special attention are the more desirable (line rather than staff; higher ranking rather than lower). Sometimes the observing and counting includes comparison between the population at large or the field of interest and current job profiles. For certain kinds of jobs (e.g., senior executive; CEO; board of directors), the quota—used in the original sense of the word—is zero, or, if not zero, very small. Do the people who speak against quotas mean they are against quotas of zero or very small numbers? I do not think so.

Now, if the observing and counting leads to results showing notably low numbers of black men and black women in certain desirable jobs, for example, then specific kinds of conversations might follow. An attempt might be made to understand why the organization seems to populate certain jobs only, or almost only, with white men. Then might come an effort to change these patterns, that is, to begin trying to fill these jobs with individuals whose race and gender includes more groups than just white men. This is the process that, in the new corporate language for race relations, is what people mean by the suggestion that somewhere are groups who are in favor of quotas. The old meaning of quotas was to limit the number of members who were other than Anglo men; while the new meaning of quotas is to expand the numbers of members who are other than Anglo men. How does one explain that the word quotas has changed to the virtual opposite of its former meaning?

One answer is that the new meaning is still about not having [illegible] But now it is about not having limits for white men. This logic does not change the old meaning of quota. It does change the group toward whom the lack of limits refers.

A second answer is more complex. It pertains to how organizations act to change patterns that historically have resulted in certain desirable jobs being restricted mainly to white men. Resistance to promoting blacks can take on a particularly perverse form. Faced with request to consider blacks for upward mobility opportunities, some white managers respond with a complicated defense. First, they convert the request into a demand, "We have to promote a black." Second, they inform subordinates with words like, "Send me a black, any black." Third, wishing to be cooperative, the subordinates talk it over and say, "Let's send them the dumbest turkey we can find." Then, if such a promotion is actually

made, the white men who effected the promotion can say with a justification that their own behavior helped to create, "So-and-so is not qualified for the position. He or she was promoted just to fill a quota." In the course of consulting about race relations, I have heard white men under conditions of confidentiality tell me that exactly these processes occur.

Information collected about U.S. Army promotions showed that for white enlisted people, promotion rates were positively associated with aptitude test scores (the higher the test score, the faster the promotion rate), while for black enlisted people, promotion rates were negatively associated with aptitude test scores (the higher the test score, the slower the promotion rate (Nordle, 1979).

These statistics suggest that the verbal reports I received were not isolated incidents. Rather they were part of a subtle form of resistance to changing race relations. Speaking against "quotas," which no one favors, is part of a larger pattern of reluctance to examine why certain desirable sectors of organizations turn out to be largely inaccessible to others than white men.

## Speaking about "Women and Minorities"

The terms, "women and minorities," are used so frequently that only rarely does anyone wonder about the meaning or the implications of thinking in this language. The words are used by the press. They are used in management discussions. They are used in scholarship by investigators of diverse backgrounds.

The one thing that women and minorities have in common is that they are not white men. Aside from this commonality, the use of these terms covers up important differences and encourages dysfunctional thinking about how to understand changing race relations.

Just in terms of black-white race relations, the words "women and minorities" make it unlikely that anyone would raise the following questions. What is the relationship between black men and white men in this setting? What is the relationship between black women and white women in this setting? What is the relationship between black men and black women in this setting? What is the relationship between white women and black men in this setting? What is the relationship between black women and white men in this setting? What is the relationship between white men and white women in this setting? Taking account of race and gender, one asks at least six questions to understand black-white race relations in a particular setting. How likely is it that the answers to all six of these questions would be substantially the same? I think it is extremely unlikely. However, if the answers were highly similar, then one question could be used without the loss of essential information.

The terms "women and minorities" suggest that only one question need be asked. "What is the relationship between [white] men, on the one hand, and women and minorities, on the other? Faced with the one question version or the six question form, which would a person who wished to understand fully the racial dynamics of a setting prefer to ask? Which would a person who wished not to know prefer to ask?

I believe that framing issues as about "women and minorities" serves a defensive function for those who use the terms. It can eliminate the need for inquiry about which groups concretely are in the minority position within particular contexts. It can reduce the potential intellectual complexity of discussions about race and gender dynamics. Clear effects of these protections are that race relations appear easier to understand; observers of particular situations reach less complex conclusions about the meaning of events; and the status quo in race relations is more likely to be maintained.

## Encouraging Competition for Victim Status

The August 5, 1991, issue of *Sports Illustrated (SI)* was devoted to the black athlete. In that special volume was an article by E. M. Swift in which the author analyzes how, "Some black superstars cash in big on ability to shed their racial identity." That article includes a quotation from Marvin Bressler, chairman of sociology at Princeton University. Bressler is quoted as saying, "I do think there's been a kind of general abstract improvement in race relations in this country, more of a willingness to recognize merit. A white guy sitting in a bar in Detroit acknowledges that [Michael] Jordan should make more money than John Paxson, and commercial endorsements are seen as part of the rewards for athletic merit. Some sense of fairness exists that now includes black people and formerly didn't. But does the white guy on the stool necessarily regard the black man on the street as any less threatening? I don't think so."

To understand all that is contained in the Bressler quotation, it is helpful if one knows basketball and followed the 1991 National Basketball Association playoffs. Michael Jordan, a black man, and John Paxson, a white man, were team mates on the starting five of championship-winning Chicago Bulls. The relatively easy victory of the Bulls over the Los Angeles Lakers was achieved, in part, because

Jordan and Paxson played extraordinarily well together. Jordan, himself known throughout his career as an extraordinary scorer, frequently assisted Paxson's scoring during the playoff series. In the post victory celebration during a nationally televised interview, Jordan, who had been named most valuable player, made a special point of praising Paxson, who had played very well in the championship.

I doubt seriously if anyone who knows basketball would find the Jordan-Paxson comparison made by Bresaler to be meaningful. Arguably, Michael Jordan is the best person ever to play the game of basketball. John Paxson is a very good [white] professional basketball player.

There are some additional features of the Bresaler quotation that deserve attention. Given that Paxson and Jordan play for Chicago, why does Bresaler choose to locate his white guy on a stool in a Detroit bar? Does Bresaler think, for some reason he does not disclose, that a white guy in Detroit would have a special interest in the Jordan-Paxson comparison? Detroit, too, has a fine NBA team, the Pistons, led by, among others, Isaiah Thomas, a black man who like Jordan is an all-star guard. Detroit, a former NBA champion, is a major rival of Chicago. In terms of the politics of race relations, Chicago and Detroit also are different cities. To me it seems that people in Chicago would be more interested in their own players than would be people in Detroit.

However, for some time Detroit has had a black mayor, Coleman Young. Chicago has a recently elected white mayor, Richard Daley, Jr., who succeeded a black mayor who died in office. Might the political differences between the cities (i.e., who is in charge) have something to do with Bresaler's placing his hypothetical white guy on a stool in Detroit rather than in Chicago?

And, there is the question of why Bresaler placed his hypothetical white guy in a Detroit bar rather than at the Princeton Faculty Club. Is it likely that Bresaler knows Detroit bars better than the Princeton establishment? Depending on Bresaler's personal history and current habits, it is possible. One effect of placing the white guy in Detroit rather than in Princeton, however, is that it puts greater social distance between Bresaler, who is also a white man, and his hypothetical white guy on a stool, whose racial perceptions and attitudes he purports to understand.

Lastly, is, perhaps, the most important question. Why, when the Jordan-Paxson relationship offers much to symbolize black-white cooperation, does Bresaler present that relationship from a perspective that fundamentally is divisive? The hypothetical white guy in the Detroit bar agrees that Jordan deserves more money than Paxson. In terms of achievements in professional basketball, the Jordan-Paxson comparison is not meaningful. Paxson is not close to having demonstrated the skills and accomplishments that Jordan has. A more meaningful black-white superstar comparison would involve identifying a white player who is closer to Jordan in his proven abilities and asking the hypothetical white guy for his views of the fairness of their relative compensation. Larry Bird of the Boston Celtics as he was playing several years ago represents one possible appropriate comparison. A Jordan-Bird comparison corrected for age and position (Jordan is a guard; Bird is a forward) at least would be sensible in terms of lifetime achievements.

In addition, reframing the Jordan-Paxson relationship as competitive after it had been publicly shown to be cooperative suggests a desire on Bresaler's part to see race relations competitively, even when the behavior is cooperative both in deeds (how the two actually played together) and in words (Jordan's words of praise for Paxson). A crucial part of that cooperation, however, which may have influenced Bresaler's portrayal, was that the black member of the pair was in the dominant position. Jordan is clearly the better player, and he assisted Paxson on the court and praised him publicly off the court. Disturbance about the relevant dominance of blacks over whites might also account for Bresaler's choosing Detroit, with its black mayor, over Chicago, with its white mayor, when locating his hypothetical white guy on a stool.

The observations offered by the *SI* writer were cloaked with the authority of Bresaler's university and academic profession. The author of the quotation was a Princeton sociology chairman who said race relations in the United States had improved in the abstract. Careful listening to what Bresaler said, however, showed inaccuracies. The Princeton sociologist's own words changed in a regressive direction the race relationship he portrayed. One is led therefore to ask two final questions. What does Bresaler believe about race relations in the United States? What does the *SI* writer wish to convey by means of Bresaler's words? A careful analysis of what the words imply but do not say suggests that the message is far more complex and may even, on balance, mean the opposite of what it seems to say.

## Criticizing Explicit Discussion of Race Relations

Contemporary culture includes a variety of subtle and forceful messages that discourage explicit talk about race relations. Specific forms are familiar

to most people: We want to get beyond black and white. Corporations say their aim is to be colorblind in promotion decisions, and the legal system says it wants to be colorblind in the administration of justice. Corporations and management consultants increasingly say they want to support all forms of diversity, not just racial differences. Each of these phrases—to get beyond black and white, to be colorblind, to support all forms of diversity—represent goals that are admirable and acceptable to many people. What do these terms mean in theory and in practice? Why are they readily accepted?

To get beyond black and white means to eliminate conflicts between blacks and whites. The condition may be achieved by bringing about racial justice. But there are other means as well. If people stop noticing and pointing out economic, educational, health care, and occupational injustices based on race, we get beyond black and white. If black and white people completely separate themselves from one another, we get beyond black and white. If people stop responding to each other based on race, we get beyond black and white. If history is rewritten to eliminate any discussion of slavery based on race, we get beyond black and white. If American history is rewritten to eliminate accounts of the Civil Rights Movement, we get beyond black and white. In short, there are a variety of ways to get beyond black and white. Only some of them are based on respectful and productive relationships between black and white people. I am concerned that the wish to get beyond black and white is more often fueled by a desire to avoid the real and concrete problems of race relations as they exist today than by a commitment to working for racial justice.

To be colorblind means not to see color. In the context of race relations, to be colorblind is not to notice one's own and another person's race. Speaking literally, people who are asked to be colorblind are called upon to deny what they see. Outside the context of race relations, being colorblind is a disability. The natural condition of human beings is to see color. When we do not see color, we function less well than when we do. Why should being colorblind be a desirable attribute in race relations, when it is undesirable for most other purposes?

Those with good intentions who advocate being colorblind in race relations do so based on a number of unspoken assumptions. Central to these is an awareness that people often are treated unfairly based on racial conflict rooted in color differences. If color consciousness could be eliminated, this line of reasoning goes, then the unfair discrimination would go away. But can people be taught not to see color in relation to others? Does it make sense even to contemplate trying to teach people not to see the various colors of human beings? Is it conceivable that people could be taught not to see the many colors of people and yet retain their capacity to see colors in other forms of natural beauty? When examined at all carefully, this line of reasoning is seriously flawed. Why, then, does our language retain the injunction to be colorblind?

What color does one see, if one does not see color? From the point of view of physical optics, the answer to this seemingly paradoxical question, is white. White light contains all the colors. The unconscious message to be colorblind is to see race relations from a white perspective.

There are other less benevolent consequences of being colorblind. If one chooses not to see color, then one cannot associate happenings in one's life to the effects of skin color. When a black man is senselessly beaten by a group of white police, for example, one could not see the association between race and the abuse of power by whites. When the Secretary of Health and Human Services, who is a black man, tells cigarette companies to stop misleading advertisements in urban ghettos, one could not see the association between race and the use of government power to improve the public health among inner city people. In general, becoming colorblind on matters of race results in losing the capacity to perceive racial dynamics.

Finally, there is the personal psychology of being colorblind. In this sense, to be colorblind is to deny one's own racial identity. Such messages are: Do not think of yourself as a white person. Do think of yourself as a black person. Do not think of yourself as a brown person. Just think of yourself as a human being. The problem with these messages, and others like them, is that we all have racial identities, which influence our life experiences. The message to be colorblind removes both the pride and the pain associated with racial group membership. In denying our racial identities, we diminish ourselves as human beings, and we diminish others.

## Valuing Diversity

The newest addition to the corporate language of race relations is the word diversity. When this term was introduced some years ago, the objective, I think, was to find new language that was respectful of the many dimensions of human difference that increasingly characterize our society. These dimensions included race, gender, age, ethnicity, physical ability, sexual preference, religion, and veteran status—all important and meaningful group memberships. The new preference was for diversity; diversity was to be positively valued. Positively valuing diversity was to replace the negative slant of avoiding

discrimination based on race, gender, age, etc. At inception, the concept of diversity was rooted in affirmation not in denial.

As time has passed, however, the practical meaning of diversity has become increasingly diffuse. It no longer just stands for a variety of meaningful group memberships. It has been transformed to include virtually any dimension of human difference that someone might choose to notice. Following is a dialogue I observed during a brief training program about valuing diversity.

> White male, age 40: "Now take Harry over here. I used to think of Harry as an obnoxious S.O.B.. (member of the Society of Organizational Behavior), but now that I have learned about diversity, I just think of Harry as diverse, and I value diversity. Right, Harry?" (Laughter)
>
> Harry (also white male, age 40): "Right. Now take this company. We used to be required to wear only red neckties. Now that we have a corporate policy to value diversity, we can wear blue ties as well. This corporation values diversity." (Laughter)

Unless one is attentive—and the incentives for managers and consultants are often against observing and listening carefully on these matters—the movement to value diversity will become the kind of joke depicted here. The movement to value diversity will be transformed from authentic talk about real group differences to trivial conversation about shallow substance. The new corporate language for race relations will have been so captured by the infinite dimensions of diversity that it will have no practical utility, except the defensive function to avoid discussion of the group effects that shape people's lives.

## Conclusion

In listening to the preceding analysis, one might wonder whether there is a sound way through the complexity. Race relations <u>is</u> a difficult subject—for both emotional and intellectual reasons. Strong emotions are easily aroused; and complicated thinking is necessary for significant understanding. The potentials for double-talk, for evasion, for duplicity and for denial have few limits.

A way out of the morass begins with recognizing that a sophisticated form of obfuscation has been occurring. While some may explain the new language as simply "politics," I do not. Rather, I view this new corporate language for race relations as a form of psychological defense that is employed at every level from national politics to work group leadership. And the problem is that the defense is not working. Race relations are getting worse not better. The increase in what are called "hate crimes" throughout the United States is perhaps the most potent indicator.

We need realistic, direct and respectful talk—not denials, evasions, and condemnations. Everyone has a race, and all racial groups have their difficulties, their problems, and their shame—along with their accomplishments, their contributions, and their pride. To the degree that each of us and all of us [the process is <u>both</u> individual and collective] can face and address our own racial experiences, there will be less need to project our problems onto others in order to avoid facing ourselves. Corporate groups need to recognize and to appreciate the identity group differences that increasingly will be present within our organizational boundaries. The alternative is colorblind, gender free, ageless, ethnicity denying organizations in which no one feels welcome, and everyone is alien.

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# Preparing Institutions for Cultural Diversity

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Our population is becoming increasingly diverse culturally, and we have functioned, and for the most part, continue to function under the illusion of the melting pot. Immigrants have not deposited their culture at the gates of the immigration ports and become totally assimilated into this culture. Psychology, following in the traditional western science, has set as its task the establishment of general laws which serve as instruments for systematic explanation and in turn, provide the basis for dependable prediction. But as Nobles and Goddard (1984) remind us, science, as explanation and prediction, accordingly, does not develop in abstract space.

> The ideas, interest, theories and definition of science go on in a human world. Human experiences are influenced, if not governed, by culture. It is extremely important, therefore, to recognize that the conduct of science is, subsequently, a process of questioning and analyzing the perceptions, sensations, feelings, and actions which comprise the experiences and interests of scientists who are in fact, cultural animals (p. 14).

We, as scientists, have failed to recognize that by excluding culture and/or ethnicity in our search for explanation and prediction, have made a gregious error. For, as Nobles again reminds us, "constant and continual inquiry and re-examination for purposes of verification of accuracy are the modus operandi for determining both the utility and validity of scientific knowledge (p. 17)."

Hence dictated by the rules and convention of scientific procedures itself, the call for an inclusion of ethnicity and/or culture must be seen as consistent with the tradition of constant and continual inquiry and re-examination for purposes of verification of accuracy. As we examine psychology's explanations of culturally different people, they are replete with transubstantive errors. Nobles and Goddard (1984) have defined transubstantiation as "a process wherein the cultural substance of one group is transformed into the cultural substance of another or different group" (p. 20). Transubstantive errors occur as a result of defining or interpreting the behavior, beliefs, actions and other cultural manifestations of one cultural group with the meanings appropriate to and consistent with another cultural group. Thus, to the extent "that a people's indigenous understanding of their world is misinterpreted, mislabeled or misidentified, one has a transubstantive error" (p. 20).

Hilliard (1976) and Nobles (1985), in their critique of the Black family literature, point out the existence of scientific colonialism. Under such a process, information and ideas are rigidly controlled by the tactics of destruction, distortion, fabrication, suppression, and confusion. Our knowledge of the culturally different is characterized by that cognitive confusion which has resulted from our methodology. Essentially, as investigators, psychologists generally have engaged in the process of knowing the culturally different with a set of pre-defined concepts, which themselves have inhibited the process of knowing. As knowers we have become prisoners in a "prism of alien ideas, because the concepts we use lock us up in a reality, which most times has nothing or very little to do with the reality we are attempting to understand" (Nobles & Goddard, 1984, pp. 22-23).

Given this state of affairs, and given our increasing culturally diverse population, as we move into the 21st century, what is required in professional psychology is a shift in paradigm. This shift in paradigm must adequately address the psychology of women from the perspectives of women. As the gender shift in psychology occurred, many began to speak about the feminization of psychology, and we are warned that if policy makers continue to reward male dominated professions (medicine as opposed to social work) the feminization of psychology may have a negative impact on policy makers perceptions of psychology. The challenge therefore is ours, not only to ensure that that does not occur, but that the glass ceiling which prohibits women from reaching the very top levels of our profession, comes crashing down. That shift in paradigm must also offer non-homophobic explanations of gay and lesbian issues, because to date psychology's explanations have been characterized by cognitive confusion.

Is it critical then that institutions of higher education address issues of diversity? Apparently they do not think so. A survey of college administrators

from 367 colleges and universities, conducted by the American Council on Education (1988), revealed that when asked to identify the main challenges facing them for the next five years, only 1 in 10 indicated the improvement of racial and ethnic diversity as one of their main challenges. As we see then, the need to include racial/cultural diversity into our institutions is only superficially acknowledged by academics. And yet, fundamental to the existence of a democratic society is the assumption that through education, people can develop the means of ensuring mobility and access to the power and control necessary to influence directly the course of their lives (Persico, 1990). This failure to develop skill-building assets in minority populations ignores an important human resource and reduces America's ability to compete economically (Santiago, 1990). Let us look for a minute at the implications of diversity for America's economic future. It is projected that between now and the year 2000 one-third of net additions to the U.S. labor force will be minorities (American Council on Education, 1988). In 1950 it took 17 workers to support the benefits of one retiree. By 1992, this year, it is predicted that three workers will provide such funds and one of these workers will be a minority. By 2030, two workers will be supporting social security benefits of one person (Hodgkinson, 1985). If this profile is accurate, it is in America's own best self-interest to substantially improve the education, competence, employability and earning power of its minority citizens. Since institutions of higher education are charged with that preparation, how well are they fulfilling that charge? Data from the U. S. Department of Education reveal the following:

## Table 1

### Percentage of Psychology Degrees Earned by Minority Students in All U.S. Institutions, 1984-1985

| Race/ Ethnicity | Percentage of Degrees | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Bachelor's | Master's | Doctoral |
| Blacks | 6.7 | 5.1 | 3.9 |
| Hispanics | 3.4 | 3.3 | 2.2 |
| Asians | 2.1 | 1.5 | 1.8 |
| Native Americans | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.2 |
| Whites | 85.9 | 86.1 | 88.8 |

Note. Data are from *Racial/Ethnic Data for Fall Enrollment and Earned Degree Recipients* by National Center for Education Statistics, 1988, Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Education.

When we look at our field, the picture is not that much different.

## Table 2

### Percentage of Doctoral Degrees Awarded to Minority Students in Clinical, Counseling, and School Psychology, 1980-1986

| Race/ Ethnicity | Degrees Awarded | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1980 | 1982 | 1984 | 1986 |
| **Blacks** | | | | |
| Percentage | 4.0 | 4.0 | 4.9 | 4.6 |
| Total | (63) | (67) | (85) | (79) |
| **Hispanics** | | | | |
| Percentage | 2.3 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 3.4 |
| Total | (36) | (45) | (55) | (58) |
| **Asians** | | | | |
| Percentage | 1.7 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.9 |
| Total | (27) | (15) | (21) | (32) |
| **Native Americans** | | | | |
| Percentage | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0.4 |
| Total | (3) | (10) | (3) | (7) |
| **Whites** | | | | |
| Percentage | 91.7 | 91.9 | 90.5 | 89.7 |
| Total | (1,450) | (1,545) | (1,562) | (1,532) |

For those who ask why it is necessary to create a multicultural university, the response is, that social and public responsibility require it. Specifically within the field of psychology, a defined purpose of a graduate school of psychology is to educate and train doctoral level psychologists who are able to meet the mental health needs of the population (Persico, 1990). To those who continue to ask the question, let us remind them that this is a pluralistic society, not a melting pot as has been thought. And, that soon we will experience, for only the second time in U.S. history, a diversity which makes whites the minority (Persico, 1990). It is evident from this picture that unless we make changes in the ways in which we conduct the business of higher education we will continue to fail to meet the charge given to us, and will continue to contribute to America's lack of competitiveness in the economic marketplace. And so, the question is not whether we change ourselves, but how we prepare ourselves to change, and in what ways do we change. In addressing the National Council of Schools of Professional Psychology, George Stricker (1990) stated,

If the institutional reply is simply a thoughtless, knee-jerk liberal response to a social issue, or an at-

tempt to comply with an external requirement viewed as onerous, the degree and intensity of ethnic diversification will be very limited.

He goes on to state,

> Ethnic diversification is not easily accomplished. It requires commitment, energy, resources, and the willingness to unlearn old attitudes, perceptions, and values and to embrace new ones. If diversification is viewed as an assignment rather than a moral imperative, it will undoubtedly fail (pp. 3-4).

A number of institutions have taken steps, some faltering, some tiny, to address change. Peterson (1990) chronicles the efforts of a large state university to work against racism. What he and his colleagues recognized is that racism in the university is rooted deeply in a strain of general prejudice that pervades our society, and that transformation may not occur without conflict. By posing questions to the campus community regarding its viewpoints on expressions of prejudice, discrimination, or bigotry on campus, and by simply "listening" to the responses to these questions, Rutgers University opened itself to the possibility of institutional change (Peterson, 1990). It is critical that we go beyond simply "listening." We must begin to implement change. But, how can we do so in the absence of models? How can we create a climate at the university that recognizes, accepts, and honors diversity? Persico (1990) exhorts us to pioneer efforts "to alter the culture and consciousness of the higher education setting" if we are to change institutional attitudes towards supporting diversity. The following are recommended towards the creation of an institution which recognizes, accepts, and honors diversity:

1. *Establishing Institutional Commitment.* This is seen as the foundation upon which all other steps in this process are built (Persico, 1990). Such commitment must incorporate the principle of affirmative diversity, and those who are in leadership positions must alter their accustomed processes and procedures. They must model their commitment through their behaviors which clearly state that this is an environment which honors diversity. Such a commitment must be clearly stated in the institution's publications. Institutional resources, policies, and procedures must be consistent with such a commitment.

2. *Creating a Culturally Diverse Faculty.* Since it is the faculty who provides the services for the students, it is critical that they represent the institution's commitment to diversity. For those already on board who do not represent this commitment, ongoing training may be necessary. The view in the recruitment and hiring of people of color as faculty members should be toward their retention. A contributing factor in early burnout of people of color is the practice of using them for all cultural issues regardless of their interests and/or expertise. Therefore the hiring of minority faculty should be done in sufficient numbers so that they can make choices about the roles they wish to fulfill in the institution, rather than expecting that a token few will be responsible for all the research teaching, advising, etc., in minority issues. Once the commitment is made to do so, there is the reality that the pool is a relatively small one, and special incentives may be necessary to induce people of color to join one's institution as faculty members.

3. *Creating a Culturally Diverse Administration.* If the shift in Clinical Psychology is indicative of the field of psychology in general, then it becomes evident that more women are entering the field and are beginning in small numbers to occupy positions of leadership. However, it is white males who continue, for the most part, to hold positions of leadership. Having a diversified administration accomplishes three things: (a) it reflects the diversity being created in order to ensure that cultural issues become institutional issues, "and that each member of the institutional community knows that his or her reality is part of the institutional reality," (b) it serves as a role model for faculty and students, and (c) it demonstrates "that leadership roles for minorities are possible and establishes that competence and vision, not race, are the critical factors" (Persico, 1990).

4. *Creating a Culturally Diverse Student Body.* It is important that this not be the first step in the process, because a number of studies (Ridley, 1985) reveal that students will seek out institutions which have faculty, administrators, and curricula which reflect some similarities to them and issues with which they are concerned. A critical mass is the desired goal, with a critical mass being defined as enough culturally different students to ensure that engaging these issues will result in a healthy, vibrant exchange of information, ideas, and perspective . . . A critical mass of students gives voice to ethnic minority concerns. Voice can be thought of as the legitimate concern for, and the important role played by, ethnic minority students in their training. (Jones, 1990). But such a goal is not achieved on its own. It is closely tied to the nature of the program being offered and the diversity of the institution.

5. *Creating Student-Faculty Support.* If we accept the assumption that support systems are natural phenomena of our institutions and that we provide support for all students, then the provision of special support systems which enable culturally different students to successfully complete their studies is no anomaly and does not lead to resentment.

6. *Generating Financial Aid Funds.* While not all students of color need financial assistance, those who do should have access to sources of funds provided by the institution. Newman (1985) put it succinctly when he stated

> The rate of persistence and completion of a degree for students with heavy loans is lower than for students who receive other forms of student aid. . . . Minority students, in particular, are less likely to use loans and therefore less likely to enter or stay in college. (p. 77)

7. *Broadening the Core Curriculum.* As Davis-Russell, Forbes, Bascuas, and Duran (1991) pointed out,

> It is vital that the core curriculum in professional psychology contain more than current facts and psychological knowledge about ethnic minority individuals and groups. A thorough understanding of the paradigms that traditionally have guided the production of supposedly relevant psychological knowledge is essential. Indeed the adoption of a new paradigm for work in this area is a further critical step. (p. 147)

The range of events to which we attend can be limited by the paradigms we accept, and the adoption of a new paradigm can open us up to what we have not seen before. As we look to a new paradigm, there are three elements which seem essential: (1) the incorporation of the importance of culture, race, and ethnicity in defining the constructs of psychology, (2) the full acknowledgment that the clients of psychology are "knowing individuals who shape their worlds and destinies through conceptual frameworks (which they develop about the world), and their lives" (Tyler et al., 1985, p. 31), and (3) the acknowledgment of the role of the system and of individual interactions in their formulations about how people function and organize their lives. Again, Davis-Russell et al. (1991) conclude

> [T]he success of implementing such a curriculum is contingent on the creation of a multicultural learning community and faculty who are not wedded to their role as the "official curators of the sacred icons of the dominant culture." . . . If we see the curriculum as the core of the actual propagation of knowledge and methods in our psychology training programs, it becomes imperative that such a curriculum include fundamental relevant thinking derived from non-Euro-American cosmologies. (p.152).

As an institution begins the change process, it must prepare for the consequences of change. There will exist tension between the old and the new. The institution, unaccustomed to the newcomers will experience some discomfort in relating to the newcomer, some treating them as objects of curiosity; there may even be some resentment for what they see as "special privileges." The newcomers may feel hesitant about asserting their right to belong in this new environment, even questioning whether they have made the right decision to be there. But, if the aforementioned conditions exist, the institution will be better prepared to cope with these consequences of change.

In conclusion, one must remember that creating a multicultural institution involves a commitment to the proposition that human diversity is a valued goal; its achievement enhances program performance. One aspect of diversity is represented by the experiences, insights, cultural perspectives and career paths of ethnic minority students and faculty. The inclusion of this significant source of diversity in our training programs will move psychology generally and clinical training specifically toward greater relevance and usefulness in the diverse society that is the United States. (Jones, 1990, p. 32)

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# The Struggle for Voice: Institutional Deafness and Student Diversity

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Fine (1991) documents that the offices of school psychologists and counselors are the primary sites for addressing social and academic problems of students, most likely managed as personal and private concerns. "The curricular privatizing and psychologizing of public and political issues served to reinforce the alienation of students' lives from their educational experiences . . ." (p. 166). Conversely, the counseling interview can also be the site for the beginning of empowering students' voices, legitimating a reality perhaps not yet expressed in the larger institution, helping students put their experiences in a larger institutional and societal context. The current status of research on organizational change and school reform points to a serious lack of studies concerning the subjective aspects of school life (Fullan, 1991) as experienced by the educational system's clients, i.e., students. Despite much rhetoric about "empowerment" and restructuring, educational reforms risk remaining superficial unless interpretive accounts of how institutions are experienced by students are introduced into the discourse. Accounts of schooling grounded in students' perspectives are needed so that teachers, counselors, administrators and policy-makers can better understand the ways schools and classrooms take the diversity and idiosyncrasy that students bring and funnel it into a narrow range of school-approved behavior. Most adults who work in schools and those who formulate policies perceive poor and minority student behavior as irrational and self-defeating. Although it may be self-defeating in many instances, student behavior is seldom irrational except to those who do not have access to the particular angle of vision through which the student views the structure of opportunities and constraints of school life (Herr, 1992).

In a study consisting of oral histories of ethnically diverse students, we found that students' educational careers were patterned by inner conflicts, forming an inner dialogue which seldom rises to the surface in educational institutions. The case of Victor will be used to illustrate the dynamics of inner voice and its relationship to institutional deafness. While making no claim to generalization or hypothesis generation, Victor is used here as a single case out of a larger body of data to illustrate the unique ways that students' struggles for voice intertwine with the particular contexts that educational institutions provide. The findings are discussed in terms of how "privatizing and psychologizing of public and private issues" (Fine, 1989) reinforces the institutionally sanctioned discourse and prevents other vantage points from being introduced for analysis.

## The Fear of Naming

Fine (1991) had documented the many ways that school policies and practices not only do not empower student voices but, in fact, silence student voices so as to smooth over social and economic contradictions. She found time and again in the high school she studied a structural fear of "naming."

> Naming involves those practices that facilitate critical conversation about social and economic arrangements, particularly about inequitable distributions of power and resources by which these (poor and minority) students and their kin suffer disproportionately. The practices of administration, the relationships between school and community, and the forms of pedagogy and curriculum applied were all scarred by the fear of naming, provoking the move to silence. (Fine, 1991, p. 34)

Drawing on the work of Soviet literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, Quantz & O'Conner (1988) suggest how inner voices are silenced before they even become vocalized in the public domain.

> In trying to understand human behavior, we must be cognizant that some voices are legitimated by the community and, therefore, vocalized, while others are nonlegitimated and, therefore, unspoken. . . . Thus, as the multiple voices within the individual and within the community struggle to control the direction of the acceptable dialogue, ideological expressions may be reinforced, reinterpreted, or rejected. . . . By recognizing and recording the multiple voices occurring within communities, we should be able to analyze the specific factors which affect the formation in

> historical situations of legitimated collusions and subsequent social actions. (pp. 98-99)

What makes the concepts of multivoicedness and legitimated and nonlegitimated voice so powerful is Bakhtin's view that inward speech that becomes outwardly vocalized is probably that which is most compatible with the socially organized ideology.

Just as students learn what behavior is institutionally sanctioned, they also learn to recognize institutionally sanctioned discourse. As Fine (1991) so well illustrates, issues of difference and inequality, be they based on class, race, gender or sexual orientation, generally do not constitute legitimate discourse except when they are dealt with abstractly, that is, not related to the students' own lives in their schools and classrooms. Because one's class, race, gender, and sexuality are key elements in how one constructs an identity, particularly in adolescence, nonlegitimated voice must be driven inward and manifests itself as inward speech, and as we will see, "acting out" behavior.

This paper will document the experiences of Victor, a Hispanic student in an elite, predominantly Anglo, prep school. Through a series of interviews with a school counselor and in response to the counselor's request that he tell her "what it's like being a student of color here," Victor's own identity-work is documented as well as his multiple voices struggling for legitimation. The case illustrates the broadening of a behavioral message on the part of a Hispanic student — in this case his flunking an advanced Spanish class although he is a native Spanish speaker — and translating it into the articulation of a social concern as experienced by that student. In Victor's case, the gradual unlayering of his experience in the Spanish class gave voice to the cultural issues it presented for him: as he put it "Am I Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde?" that is, am I Anglo or Hispanic?

## The Case of Victor

Victor, an eighth grader, led the counselor through a chronology of his career as a student of color, highlighting critical incidents in elementary and middle school that set the stage for his current identity-work. The excerpts in this section, transcribed from the flowing monologue that Victor delivered, give a sense of the "identity-work" he's engaged in, and the multiple voices struggling for legitimation.

> I really don't see myself as a Hispanic person. We were talking about this in the car this morning with Ariel and he said that when you go to this school it's like going to Candyland. Everything is sweet, you know, and dandy. You know, hypothetically speaking, there's no drugs, there isn't any alcohol, and the people don't walk around the campus smoking cigarettes. You know the people aren't in the halls making out and all that stuff. It's Candyland, you know. You go and you're sheltered; you're so sheltered. I kind of, looking at it, really don't label myself as the typical Hispanic person; I kind of label myself as the typical Anglo-Hispanic person.
>
> In other words, I have the education and the same opportunity right now as the Anglo person so I'm equal, I'm equal with them. I'm looking ahead, eye to eye; I'm looking eye to eye at them, and I'm stable. We're on a balance beam and it's balanced. And, I kind of look at myself as kind of an Anglo person in some ways. The way I speak sometimes, I really don't — Hispanic people really have a strong accent and Black people have some strong accents, you know, the way they pronounce the words and Vietnamese and Asian people and all that — you know, I really don't — if you look at it, I am Hispanic, you know, my blood, my color, my background but right now I'm turning into an Anglo. And hypothetically speaking again I've turned into an Anglo — the customs, the ways, but then again also, I do have my Hispanic background — my Christmas, my traditions, you know, the funeral, all that — I really have all that with me but right now I'm kind of seen as a stabilized person who has the best of a Hispanic world, who has the best of an Anglo world, who has the best of a poverty world, who has the best of a rich world. The best of the whole world, you know.

The balance beam in Victor's metaphor for his attempt to balance his own ethnicity and social class with that of his classmates at the prep school. Although he insists that he is stable in his juggling of these multiple worlds he inhabits, another incident that he describes illustrates how unresolved the dilemma is.

The situation arose in an Advanced Spanish class made up of native Spanish speaking students, like Victor, and Anglo students. During the third semester of the school year, Victor and his family were notified that he might not be offered a re-enrollment contract for the next school year because of a failing grade in Spanish; his particular grade was a 33 percent, with an effort grade of one (on a scale of one to five, with five showing the most amount of effort and a one indicating virtually no effort given to the class at all). Victor was told, by the Dean of the Eighth Grade, that unless he brought up his grade in Span-

ish, particularly his effort grade, he would not be allowed to return to Markham. The Dean made clear that he was particularly disappointed in victor's "lack of effort." Input from the Spanish teacher characterized Victor as a constant troublemaker, a clown who seemed uninterested in working. She would routinely resort to kicking him out of class and he would spend the remaining part of the period alone in the student commons, isolated from the classroom and class activities.

Victor reflected on the Advanced Spanish class and the way he felt in it:

> . . . it kind of made me feel uncomfortable being put in a situation where I was coming from — all my friends — Tara Reynolds, Jenny Barnard — I went to school with Tara and Jenny since kindergarten, first grade, second grade, so they're my sisters, you know. And then Kaitlin, and Virginia O'Bryant, and Courtney, you know, they're all my friends but I really didn't know them as well. And, uh, then I had Tamara in that class and I went to school with her too.
>
> But being put in a position where — I have a friend named Eduardo Francisco Fernandez Gomez — you met him — from Tome — and he's Hispanic and I can relate to everything he's thinking and all that — and yet being put in a position also where I got to either decide where I'm going to sit during class; am I going to sit with my friends Jenny Barnard and Tara Reynolds or am I going to sit with Eduardo, you know. It's kind of frustrating, you know.
>
> And having a Hispanic teacher, really, I really didn't get along with Senora Hernandez — she's a good person, don't get me wrong; she's a really good person, but I kind of felt uncomfortable with her at the beginning of the year and towards the middle of the year too.
>
> But I just didn't like being put in that situation and having to cope with and deal with either distinguishing who I really was — cause that was really hard because I wanted to be proud of my heritage and Hispanic, and then I turn around and kick myself in the butt. I fell on my face because I wanted to be Hispanic and do the things that Hispanic people do and yet then again, I usually — what I do is I switch. I go to school, I'm school. Then I switch, I go home, with the neighborhood kids and I, then I switched to Hispanic . . . and then I'll turn around to being an Anglo and being that kind of person. It's like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. I kind of didn't like being put in that situation because who was I, Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde, you know. And I had to be Victor, and that's kind of hard for me to do, being Victor, just being the person I was. I like to categorize things — you know, milk, dairy products, meat, bread; I like to categorize things. I don't like to mix a meat sandwich with lettuce and you know, I don't like to do that because it's just — I don't like that. That's what I did; if I had a sandwich, I had to categorize it as a roast beef sandwich. But I just didn't like being put in that position.
>
> But I dealt with it pretty well I think — kind of immaturely but yet maturely. But I liked that; I enjoyed that. I look at that now — I liked the challenge. I didn't like it at the time but I like the challenge, uhmm, now. It makes me a better person.

Two things are significant in the two episodes described above. The description of himself as stable is Victors' official version of his life. It was unsolicited. It is the version legitimated by his school and by his immediate family. There is tremendous pressure to juggle multiple identities successfully, however there is no recognition by the school of its difficulty, and there is nowhere within it where this identity work can be done in an open, legitimated manner. Victor's symbolic sabotaging of his Spanish class is perhaps his way of "acting out" through disruptive behavior — the dilemma that he cannot resolve himself and which the school is incapable of soliciting or acknowledging (both because of cultural insensitivity and because to legitimate Victor's suffering would be to de-legitimate the school as an institution that works at being "culturally diverse").

The episode in the Spanish class was explicitly solicited by the counselor. Although his behavior in this class was nearly his downfall, he did not choose to discuss this issue, perhaps because it represented a situation in which he had to choose one or the other identity, which foreshadows what he knows he will eventually have to do. The pain of not choosing to sit with his Hispanic friends has larger implications for a future in which the cost of material success may be the sacrifice of the core of his identity. Later in the interview Victor reverts back to his stable person (or as he says "just a person") version of his future as he fantasizes a future in which he negotiates his multiple identities with ease.

> I mean in the world today, making money is everything. People kind of tend to say that the Yuppy this, the Yuppy that—but the Yuppy people—when you look at them really aren't in contact with the real world. They're making money and they're successful. And I think I'll have the best of that Yuppy world—I'll be

> making money, that is if I do well and succeed and excel. I'll be making money and you know, working really hard yet I'll be able to walk down amongst my dad's old neighborhood, San Jose Carlos, amongst those people and have conversations, you know. I can mingle; I can go to their parties with them; I can even go to the bar with them, you know and talk. Then after I do that, the next day, I can wake up in the morning and go to business, go eat at the country club, go to the Hyatt, or eat in some private office, one on one, strictly business, business, business. And yet in my leisure time also I have two ways of relaxing — I can use the education, the money I make to buy the finer things in life, and then — and yet, you can still have leisure time to mingle with people. You have your mingling with people and then you have your toys. And I think that's where I come from — I am a male Hispanic; I don't really view myself as a Hispanic or an Anglo, just a person . . .

The task of reconciling his conflicting worlds, that of being Hispanic while functioning in an Anglo dominated society, is left solely to Victor. And the assumption is that it is Victor who has to change. In the case of the Spanish class, the Dean would like to see "better effort": the teacher wants him to behave. The possible repercussions fall solely on Victor: he may not be invited to re-enroll if he doesn't bring up his Spanish grade.

Discussions of a student doing better work, the consequences of a falling grade or behaving poorly in a class, are all part of an institutionally sanctioned discourse; implications that the problem could lie other than within the student are not raised — even by Victor, until solicited by the interviewer. Victor accepts this analysis of his "failure" and that he has "goofed off." Owning the responsibility for the flunking grade also implies that he alone is the one to rectify it.

> All the high people (the administrators) — they've given me a million chances. I've looked at it now: this is my last chance. This is my last chance to make something out of my life, you know. I've been given chances since the day I was born. There comes a point, a time in your life where you get your last chance and that's it. That's the last chance you're going to get. That's it.
>
> I've realized that I've come to the end of the rope. I've goofed off so much — not so much, just goofed off. I got my last chance now. I kind of realize, you know, you don't know what you've got till it's gone. And, you really don't know what you've got until it's gone.

This classic "privatizing and psychologizing of public and private issues" (Fine, 1989) reinforces the institutionally sanctioned discourse and prevents other vantage points from being introduced for analysis. The institution remains safe from a call to change but is also buffered from the opportunity of becoming truly culturally diverse. Those inner voices that represent social critique become muted over time and are replaced by voices of self blame and personal autonomy. Fine's (1991) follow-up interviews with students several years out of high school bear this out.

> Although the majority of adolescents who were discharged from CHS (a low-income, inner-city high school) did so with bitter commentary on the economy, labor market opportunities, racism and/or public schooling, within three to four years their criticisms disintegrated. The critique turned inward, onto themselves. Alive and energetic at seventeen, they grew, for the most part, depressed, self-blaming, and not very hopeful by age twenty-one. (p. 185)

Whether Victor stays on the balance beam or falls off remains to be seen. The tragedy for Victor's future is that regardless of the outcome of the inner struggle of legitimated and nonlegitimated voices within Victor, the institution itself proceeds unaware of the inner struggles of its clients.

A critical theory interpretation would argue that in a stratified society educational institutions, whether serving the oppressed or the elite cannot maintain the legitimacy of their official ideology of equal opportunity and meritocracy and, at the same time, acknowledge their students' voices of institutional and social critique. The school needs Victor at least as much as he needs them. Victor gets upward social mobility; the institution gets a lower-middle class Hispanic student and a facade of cultural diversity which legitimates it in the eyes of the community.

## Soliciting Inward Speech

The documentation of the variety of inward speeches, by students like Victor, could be a powerful first step in encouraging institutional change, should this kind of school genuinely engage in the process of diversifying culturally. But if students are more likely to vocalize the versions of their thoughts that are legitimated by society, adults in the institution will need to provide a variety of views of "reality" that encourage students to not only take responsi-

bility for their own struggles but also translate their private trouble to social concerns.

Typically in schools, students who are failing academically or who are presenting some sort of behavioral problem in the classroom are referred to counselors or school social workers for intervention. The goal usually is one of "fixing" the student, i.e., helping him or her raise the failing grade or learn to "behave" in the classroom. While both are worthwhile goals in the school scheme of things, the behavioral messages of students, such as failing grades and acting out behavior, can also be seen as wonderful opportunities for the institution to begin to hear the inner voices of students. For example, intervention for Victor in the Advanced Spanish class could be one of providing the opportunity to express the dilemma of a student struggling to function in two cultures. By implication, Victor may be able to find a strategy that is less self-defeating in the end, so that he does not need to continue to act out; the institution may be able to structure a situation that encourages the kind of discourse that taps into Victor's private speech and legitimates his experiences and struggles, offering him support to become truly bicultural. Should that support be offered, one would expect a student would no longer need to choose between cultures but rather, find that he truly does have the best of both worlds.

If the approach by counselors and school social workers is one that only psychologizes students' dilemmas and focuses solely on them as sites for intervention and change, students will quickly learn the appropriate speech, that which is narrowly sanctioned by their institutions. But the counseling interview can also be the site for the beginning of empowering student voices, legitimating a reality perhaps not yet expressed in the larger institution. By implication, the students could see, as possible sites for change, themselves (i.e., how do I cope in a classroom in a way that is less self-defeating? How do I get my message across, without needing to act it out in a way that gets me in trouble?) and the institution (i.e., what could the school do to honor the diversity of cultures here and make me feel more comfortable?). Obviously the students will only begin to see and express the link between their private problems and social concerns as the adults in the community begin to pave the way for that.

In Victor's case, he expressed to the school counselor the dilemmas of Spanish class, gradually unlayering the problems there and giving voice to the cultural issues it presented for him. The counselor's strategy included one of affirming that, developmentally, Victor was right on target, i.e., as an eighth grader, he should be thinking about and beginning to work on issues such as "who am I?" and the strategy included a realistic affirmation that such identity-work was made more complicated for a student in Victor's situation.

On an institutional level, Victor felt unable to explain to the Dean of the Eighth Grade the variety of issues presented to him by the make-up of the Advanced Spanish class. He did feel comfortable in having the school counselor be his advocate and approach the Dean with a different lens on the class; with Victor's permission, the counselor worked to translate Victor's behavior in the class from irrational acting out behavior to one of a strategy of coping with a difficult situation. Obviously the next step in legitimizing Victor's voice would be creating a multicultural curriculum that affirms the identities of diverse cultural groups.

Educational institutions generally support the notion of diversity and multiculturalism. As Sleeter (1991) points out, however, there is a generalized misunderstanding of what diversity and multiculturalism means. Sleeter argues that too often it means curricular add-ons, or merely having a culturally diverse student body. Baptiste (1986) claims that multiculturalism must move beyond the mere addition of courses or formalization of certain experiences to "a highly sophisticated internalization of the process of multiculturalism combined with a philosophical orientation that permeates all components of the educational entity" (p. 308).

Regardless of how well-meaning, educational institutions cannot move from "soft" definitions of multiculturalism to more sophisticated ones without an understanding of the role the educational institution plays in the identity struggles of its students. Not seeing yourself reflected in the curriculum or in the culture of the organization is only part of the problem. The acting out behaviors of minority students are often misdiagnosed by an institution that does not make the unique issues of their identity-work part of its body of professional knowledge. The interface of dominant institutional norms and the struggles of students to form an identity constitute a micro-political struggle which takes place under the noses, but outside the consciousness of most educational institutions. Until students like Victor feel that an institution is open to a multiplicity of voices, their speech will continue to reflect the legitimated organizational reality.

Students like Victor are daily confronted with the task of internally bridging the gap between their own cultural experiences and knowledge and that of the dominant culture of the school. As Victor put it, these students are constantly learning that "that works in our world but not in the world we're in right now." Currently the burden is on individual students to learn the kind of constant translating of cultural

rules that means survival for them. There is no equivalent burden on teachers and administrators to become equally expert in the students' cultural context. When teachers view students coming through their classroom door as equally invited to participate, without taking into account that some of their students have entered a foreign environment, their attempts at equal opportunity for all fall short of the goal. When students then don't perform as well as they could, the setting is ripe for head shaking, saddened that students have not taken advantage of their educational opportunities.

In a stratified society, educational institutions, whether serving the oppressed or the elite, cannot maintain the legitimacy of official ideologies like color-blindness, equal opportunity and meritocracy and, at the same time, acknowledge their students' voices of institutional and social critique. Student empowerment through the legitimation of inner voices of student critique will not alter the role of elite private educational institutions but it may reduce the alienation of students like Victor and ensure that those inner voices of social critique are nurtured and retained as part of their adult identities.

## Conclusion

In this paper, we have attempted to suggest how the elicitation and analysis of student voices might help us understand how students construct their identities in the context provided by educational institutions. We further suggest ways that this attention to student voices might help educational institutions better respond to students' needs. One of the reasons for choosing the prep school data was to illustrate the fact that extra resources don't automatically guarantee a better environment for students of color. As Baptiste (1986) reminds us, unless multiculturalism is internalized and forms a part of how things are done and thought about in a given school, student problems associated with cultural identity issues will be viewed as just that — the student's problem.

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# Career Education for the Disadvantaged Hispanic Adolescent: Statement of the Problem and Possible Solutions

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## Employment and the Hispanic Population

### The Changing Job Market

*More Jobs, More Poverty.* The current crisis in today's job market revolves around a gross mismatch between the skills workers have and the skills employers need (Bernstein, Anderson, & Zellner, 1987; Nicolau, 1988). An increasing number of workers either possess skills no longer needed in today's job market or are unemployable because of insufficient reading and math levels. The end result is that the low wage sector of the job market is increasing rapidly while many skilled job positions are not filled. In 1987, 33% of White workers and 42% of non-White workers earned below-poverty wages (Markley, 1988). In the 1980's, 50% of the net increase in jobs has been in jobs paying less than a poverty-level wage and the trend seems to be accelerating (AFL-CIO report, no. 22, 1988). Furthermore, of the more than 117,000 job openings that New York City employers listed with the state Department of Labor in 1987, 58.5% offered less than five dollars an hour (*New York Times*, March 5th, 1989).

To rise above the Federal poverty level for a family of four, a full time worker would have to make $5.77 an hour. Yet more people are applying for jobs paying below the poverty line and less for many skilled and semi-skilled jobs. For instance, in New York, the State employment service listed 672 typists jobs at $8.50 an hour; 522 applied for them. On the other hand, for a teacher aide at $4.50 an hour, there were 601 applicants for 60 jobs. Home attendant at $4.15 an hour attracted 6,108 applicants for 495 jobs. A nurse's aide at $5 an hour had 2,202 applicants for 135 jobs. Finally, a hand packager of manufactured goods at $3.45 an hour had 31,204 applicants for 1,593 jobs ("In New York City," 1987).

### The Hispanic Work Force

Hispanics are the fastest growing racial/ethnic minority group in the United States. In the national census of 1980, the annual growth rate for Hispanics was reported at 6.1%; whereas the comparable growth rate for Whites and Blacks were 0.06% and 1.8% respectively (Malgady, Rogler, & Constantino, 1987). Looking at the ten year period 1980 to 1990, the White population grew by 7.7%, the Black population by 15.8%, while Hispanics increased numerically by 34.5% (Ponterotto & Casas, in preparation). Hispanics are also a relatively young ethnic cohort. The average age of Whites in the United States is 31 years; Blacks average 25 years, and Hispanics have an average age of 22 years (Ponterotto, Lew, & Bullington, in press).

An implication of the relative youthfulness of the Hispanic population is that this group is expected to represent nearly 29% of the labor force growth of 21 million jobs from 1986 to the year 2,000 (Nicolan, 1988). Nicolan (1988) provides work-trend evidence that Hispanic youth are willing and eager to work: 66% of Hispanic youth are in the work force compared to 57% Black and 71% White. Considering the trends of the current job market and the increasing number of unskilled Hispanic labor, there is cause for alarm when considering career education for Hispanic youth. The road that historically brought immigrant groups into the economic mainstream — relatively well-paid manufacturing and unskilled job opportunities — is closing. Between the years 1953 and 1984, New York City alone lost 600,000 jobs in manufacturing and 700,000 jobs in White-collar service industries (Wilson, 1987). This same trend holds true for cities like Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis, all of which have large Black and Hispanic populations. All of this leads to the same conclusions: a gross mismatch between the skills of inner city Hispanics and job opportunities.

## Low Educational Attainment and Increasing Poverty

Only 4% of new jobs (vs. 9% of current jobs) can be filled by individuals in the lowest levels of math and reading (Nicolan, 1988). Projections indicate that of the 21 million new jobs between 1986 and the year 2,000, half will demand education beyond high school. Youths from poverty are three times as likely to be high school drop outs (Hoyt, 1988). Considering the fact 45% of Hispanics drop out before finishing high school, one fears that many young Hispanics will have great difficulty earning a wage level salary above the poverty level. Of the 45% who drop out, 40% do so by the spring semester of sophomore year (U.S. House Committee, 1987). One of the major reasons for such a high drop-out rate is that many Hispanics find themselves below the appropriate grade level (Callejas, 1985; Cooney, 1986; Evans & Anderson, 1973; Newlon & Haase, Nicolan, 1988; U.S. House Report, 1987). About 25% of Hispanics in grades 1-4 are already below grade level; 40% in grades 5-8; and 43% in grades 9-10 (Nicolan, 1988). 46.8% of 13 year old Hispanic males are one of more years below expected grade level compared to 33.1% Black and 22.2% White 13 year old males. A comparison of 13-year old females shows 46.8% of Hispanics to be at least one year below grade level compared to 44.0% Black and 29.6% White (Carnegie Council, 1989).

Hispanic poverty statistics are alarming. In 1985, 40% of all Hispanic children and 59% of all Puerto Rican children lived below the poverty level. The comparative rate for Anglo children was 17% (Nicolan, 1988). From 1961 to 1986, the median income for non-Hispanic peoples rose from $27,480 to $30,231; for Hispanics, it rose from $19,904 to $19,965 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 1987 Current Population report). As a result, there is less upward mobility in the Hispanic population. The inability of high school drop outs to find jobs with more than poverty level wages is a primary contributor to this economic stagnation. This was not true of drop-outs in years past; however, the service positions that make up most new jobs require reading and writing skills not needed in old factory jobs.

Besides the 45% who drop out of high school, another 25% of all Hispanics graduate with a level of basic skills below that of the eighth grade (Nicolan, 1988). An eighth grade reading and math level is the minimum requirement for most service oriented jobs in today's economy. For example, Chemical Bank hires up to 700 tellers a year, most of them minorities. Applicants must pass a 45 minute eighth-grade level math test. In 1983, the pass rate for this exam was 70%; today it's only 55% (Bernstein, Anderson, & Zellner, 1987).

Hispanics are underrepresented in professional and managerial positions. In March of 1985, 11.6% of employed Hispanic males were in managerial or professional occupation compared to 26.2% of employed non-Hispanic males (U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 1987). Arbona (1989) analyzed the U.S. Hispanic work force from the 1980 census figures according to the Holland typology of work. This author found Hispanics to be overrepresented in low level "realistic" jobs and underrepresented in all others. Hispanic men comprise 3% of the labor force, yet Hispanics comprise 5% of the lowest level realistic jobs (lowest level = 1-2 GED level). Hispanic women who comprise 2% of the labor force are also overrepresented in low level realistic work (4%). However, Hispanic women are better represented in various types of jobs as well as in the higher G.E.D. level jobs than Hispanic men. Projections for 1995 indicate that the predominant sources of employment for Hispanics, realistic work (construction, mechanics, transportation, etc.) and conventional work (i.e. office clerical work) will gain slightly or even decline (Arbona, 1989).

## Hispanic Culture as It Relates to Educational and Occupational Attainment

Counselors have debated various rationales accounting for lower occupational and educational attainment levels for Hispanics (Arbona, 1990; Dillard & Campbell, 1982; Evans & Anderson, 1973; Isonio & Garza, 1987; Rodriguez & Blocher, 1988). The debate revolves around whether differences in educational and occupational attainment between Hispanics and Anglos is more a function of ethnicity, level of acculturation, and/or socioeconomic background (Arbona, 1990). Support for the latter is derived from a number of studies which suggest that between middle-class and college educated Hispanics and Anglos, differences in work values and career progression are severely diminished (Ballesteros, 1986; Ortiz, 1986). In other words, the latest research does not seem to support the rather widespread belief that Hispanics do not place much importance upon education, but that level of acculturation which is oftentimes intricately linked to socioeconomic status is the primary determinant of educational and occupational advancement.

*Poverty vs. the Culture of Poverty.* The fact that most Hispanics are poor cannot be overlooked when it comes to understanding their lack of educational advancement. However, it is important to make a

distinction between those who are poor and those who belong to a "culture of poverty." In his well-known analysis of the "culture of poverty," Oscar Lewis (1965) distinguishes those poor who believe things could be better from those poor who have strong feelings of fatalism, helplessness, dependence, and inferiority. This latter group belongs to what Lewis called the culture of poverty, an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position. Those who belong to the culture of poverty are present oriented and cannot delay gratification. Herein, lies the difficult connection between the culture of poverty and value of education. An appreciation for the value of education requires a certain future orientation since the fruits of staying in school are not immediate. As more and more Hispanics fail to exit intergenerational poverty, the design for living provided by the culture of poverty will become only more convincing.

*Discrepancy of Cultural Values.* Judith Nine-Curt (1990) has contrasted Puerto Rican cultural values with USA cultural values based on Stewart's (1972) analysis. One particular contrast is around orientation to time. Whereas Anglos tend to be future oriented, Puerto Ricans tend to be present and past oriented. Such cultural values have enormous implications when doing career guidance/education with Hispanic adolescents. The counselor needs to realize that Puerto Rican youth want to see some immediate results from their efforts. Newlon and Haase (1982) put it quite succinctly: "Do this; it will help you later in life,' is meaningless to one whose daily life is one of survival" (p. 118).

Soto (1988) compared the home environments of high and low achieving Puerto Ricans and found no significant differences in the press for independence among the children. Within the Puerto Rican value system, loyalty to family takes precedent over independence which is associated with self-centeredness. Along with this cultural value is the plain socioeconomic fact of the extended family living together as cheaply as possible. Consequently, behavior is formed that benefits the group rather than the individual; conformity rather than self-expression (Feingold, 1968).

*Family Enmeshment and Independence Training.* Several writers have commented on the enmeshed family patterns seen among Hispanic families of low socioeconomic status (Fulmer, 1988; Rogler, et al., 1983). Many of these families have difficulty "launching" children because oftentimes there is no marital bond to invest in. Since independence training is highly correlated with high achievement (Evans & Anderson, 1973), then any career education program for Hispanics will have to include work with parents around such training. The above analysis points to the fact that there are interrelated socioeconomic and cultural factors which distance Hispanics from mainstream American culture and the Protestant work ethic (Isonio & Garza, 1987).

Independence training is closely related to issues of locus of control which Rodriguez and Blocher (1988) found to be related to vocational development among Puerto Rican college women. Subjects who participated in a Career Development Program came to believe that they can control their environments and their futures. Apparently, it did not matter much what kind of career development program the subjects experienced. Rather, participation in small groups empowered participants to move from a less fatalistic attitude to a more autonomous attitude towards the future.

In conclusion, it seems that any career development work with Hispanics must take into serious account the psychological effects of low socioeconomic status and the values that prevail among Hispanics families with low levels of acculturation. Without accessible and relevant career education programs for disadvantaged youth our country runs the risk of creating a permanent underclass whose increased numbers will suffer the tragic consequences of what Oscar Lewis termed the "culture of poverty."

## Career Education in the Middle School

### The Middle School Student

Following Super (1963), career education must be responsive to the developmental stages of a person's life. The middle school student is in a period of transition from late childhood to adolescence whose developmental task is the establishment of identity (Erikson, 1963). It marks the beginning of a period of exploration in a number of areas (relationships, independence from family, values, interests, and capacities). Career education must be consonant with this exploratory phase of an adolescent's development. Dramatic changes begin to take place with the onset of puberty which takes place at significantly younger ages than in previous generations. In the United States 150 years ago, the average age of a girl's first menstrual period was 16 years; today it is 12.5 years (Carnegie Council, 1989). Young adolescents begin to look outward from the home to gain an understanding of themselves and their circumstances. This period of instability is reinforced sometimes by the middle school environment: larger student populations which make personal attention virtually impossible and the constant changing of classes after each period.

This kind of environment may be especially alienating for the "transescent" Hispanic whose culture

upholds the value of "personalismo" over and against the efficiency of systems. The middle school counselor also must be conscious that many Hispanic middle schoolers do not find the school environment very affirming as they find below grade level.

## Career Exploration in the Middle School

All the literature concerned with career education in the middle and/or junior high school has as its common thread the emphasis on career exploration (Bloch, 1989; Cole, 1982; Herr & Cramer, 1988; Hamdani, 1977; Newlon & Hasse, 1982). Super locates the exploratory stage of career development between the ages of 15 and 25 (Osipow, 1983). However, 8th grade middle schoolers are forced to make choices concerning high school which have definite career implications (e.g. the choice between a vocational and college preparatory program). Most adolescents are ill-prepared to make such choices (Herr & Cramer, 1988), and many times parents are equally ill-informed about such choices. The consequences of such choices without exploration are the persistent feeling that nothing in school is helping one to get a better job (Bloch, 1989). This is a major factor in the increased dropout rate near the end of the second year of high school.

Career exploration is all the more necessary for disadvantaged youth who, although forced to make the same high school decisions, consistently score lower on measures of career maturity when compared to adolescents from more favored environments (Hamdani, 1977). Thus, an essential element of career guidance in the middle school has to be help in implementing exploratory activities. If the middle schooler is already psychologically disposed to exploration, help at exploring traditional and not-so-traditional careers ought to be met with acceptance. Later on, specific suggestions for career exploration among Hispanic youth will be given.

## Development of Self-Awareness Among Middle Schoolers

Occupational exploration is one of two cardinal elements in career education; the other is self-awareness. According to Super, the choice of work is an attempt to implement one's self concept (Osipow, 1983). Since self-concept especially in the adolescent years in not something static but dynamic, proper career education needs to help with self-awareness. Adolescents begin to recognize differences between self and others, and this initial recognition of differences is the beginning of a process which culminates in decisions about education and work. Consequently, an essential ingredient of any career guidance program even in the middle school will be help with self awareness.

Besides the process of differentiation, Super talks about the formation of self-concept which comes from identification with significant others. For a young child, this begins with the same-sex parent and as the child grows older expands to include those of the wider community of the developing adolescent's life. When working with disadvantaged youth, one has to keep in mind that many come from single parent families or from families where the father figure has been a model of steady employment. All the literature on career education for the disadvantaged emphasizes the need for proper role models. William Julius Wilson (1987) makes the distressing point of how many of the ghetto communities have become homogeneous with regard to socioeconomic class due to increasing possibilities for non-Whites to live in other areas. It is less likely today that a child of the ghetto whose parents did not provide a model of steady employment will find that model in the next door neighbor. Counselors who work with youth from poverty must be keenly aware of such a situation and make an extra effort to explore resources of even the most disadvantaged communities. For example, following up graduates in the working world and the formation of a graduate association as sources of information and peer counselors could be a viable alternative for role modeling (Callejas, 1985).

## Career Education and the Hispanic Middle Schooler

### The Need for Assessment

Since there exists a clear negative correlation between being disadvantaged and career maturity, giving such students a career maturity inventory (e.g. Crites, 1973) and a measure for self-esteem is a good starting point. Both measures will serve to orient the counselor to the student's readiness for career exploration and self-awareness. The counselor must be aware that career exploration requires a certain amount of ego strength:

> People are more likely to engage in profitable exploratory acts if they are able to tolerate the ambiguity, uncertainty, tension, and frustration that accompany the lack of closure and insecurity that one feels prior to making a decision and starting on a course of action. Furthermore, exploration is most useful if defensiveness is minimal, since new information may be threatening to old self-images and values. Parents may facilitate exploratory behaviors by providing emotional sup-

port and by encouraging independence (Ostpow, 1983, p. 159).

It was mentioned earlier that independence, an essential ingredient in school achievement and career maturity, may be less encouraged for several reasons in Hispanic families, especially those that are poor. A further suggestion would be to measure the student's level of independence and/or family enmeshment. All of these indicators will serve to assess the starting point for career education with a disadvantaged Hispanic student.

The research specific to career education with Hispanic students consistently indicates that their career aspirations far exceed their expectations (Bresnan, 1976; Callejas, 1985; Dillard & Campbell, 1982; Dillard & Perrin, 1980). When compared to Anglos, Hispanics have higher career aspirations (Dillard & Perrin, 1980), but less expectancy for fulfilling such aspirations. Some authors suggest that this is because Hispanics expect to encounter greater difficulties and obstacles in fulfilling their career aspirations. In any event, it is very important that the counselor ascertain the proportionate relationship between aspirations and expectations for Hispanic students and, more importantly, to discover the reason or reasons for low expectations. It very well could be a problem of low self-esteem where high aspirations represent an idealized defense against feelings of inferiority and expectations a more realistic picture of one's own opinion about oneself. A typical example might be what an 8th grade counselee of the author said recently: "I want to be a pediatrician, but I don't want to go to four years of college!"

## Integration not Assimilation

All guidance counselors will reflexively lecture students on the importance of staying in school. Earlier, some hard facts were presented about future trends of the job market which make staying in school imperative for raising oneself out of poverty. However, few counselors take the time to understand why very young kids either physically or psychologically drop out of school. Herr & Cramer (1988) put it quite succinctly: "The realities are that many students who drop out are not getting anything in school that helps them get a better job, and they know it" (p. 253). Purely academic content for many disadvantaged students in the middle school has no appeal at all. Earlier we commented on how being both poor and Hispanic might make it very difficult to be future oriented. Vocational counseling needs to introduce disadvantaged youth in the middle school to skill centered activities based on skills needed in tomorrow's job market. Cooney (1986) did a survey in which 92% of the counselors interviewed did not believe that most Hispanics have their aptitudes identified or developed so they may enter into the career of their choice.

After the assessment phase of the career education program, a culturally sensitive inventory is to be administered, one that is values oriented. It is very important in a career education program for Hispanics to compare their hierarchy of values with that of Anglo students. No doubt, differences will exist that might put Hispanics at odds with mainstream Anglo-European culture. The assimilationist approach to acculturation would have such students educated into the American cultural values and expectations (Newlon & Haase, 1982). However, the preference is for an integrationist approach which tries to identify Hispanic values as positive contributors to American society. In terms of career education, the challenge is to match what's culturally valued to jobs available in the future.

## Parent Involvement

A number of studies have dealt with the sometimes thorny issue of Hispanic parental involvement in school related issues and most especially in career education (Callejas, 1985; Dillard & Campbell, 1981; Ortiz, 1986; Ross, 1982). Career development theorists have accentuated for the longest time the tendency of adolescents to make their career choice in accord with aspirations held for them by their parents. Callejas (1985) and Ross (1982) indicate that in the case of Hispanics, parents, relatives, and friends seem to assist more directly than school personnel in the area of career choice. Callejas (1985) hypothesizes that such strong familial involvement could mean the transmission of the working class culture into the most accessible, unskilled areas of the occupational arena. We reiterate that unskilled labor today will not achieve the same standard of living as in the past given the heretofore explained changes in the job market.

Dillard and Campbell (1981) found a significant correlation between Puerto Rican adolescent's aspirations and their mother's aspirations, much higher than for Blacks and Anglos. Ross (1982) says that it is imperative for Hispanic parents to be included in any career education program in order for them to deal with changes that U.S. culture imposes upon their children. Soto (1988) found the families of higher achieving Puerto Ricans to be more involved in educational activities.

All of the above serves to illustrate the very real necessity of involving Hispanic parents in school-based career education programs. This is perhaps the greatest challenge of all. Traditional Hispanic culture tends to see family and school as two sepa-

rate domains. Those who work with disadvantaged students constantly remark about the difficulty of getting parental involvement in the school. Any career education program must be in tune with the values being inculcated from within the home environment. Parental nonattendance at career nights or other such invitations issued by the school counselor cannot mean the end of reaching out to parents. Meetings in the homes or the community room of several parents who live in the same apartment building are more radical ways of bridging the gap between home and school.

## Conclusion

The preceding pages have tried to bring together the needs of the changing U.S. economy and the needs of the Hispanic population. First, an analysis of the job market revealed that more education is needed than ever before to escape the lowest paying jobs. Second, an analysis of the Hispanic population showed that by and large they are ill prepared to meet the demands of the changing job market. Thirdly, elements essential to career education in the middle school were discussed such as the need for exploration and the development of self-awareness. Finally, suggestions for career education with Hispanics were given. These suggestions were derived from a combination of economic, educational, and cultural analyses.

Hispanics bring with them a set of cultural values and mentality that need not alienate them from mainstream society. As such, Hispanics have a great deal to contribute to American society. Their concern for the welfare of the group should serve as antidote to the rampant individualism that pervades our society. Acculturation as it affects employment need not mean adaptation to the "American Way" but the assessment, recognition, and matching of one's cultural strengths to available jobs. Career education with Hispanics should not loose sight of the goal to integrate the values specific to one's culture with those of the mainstream culture. This integrationist approach respects true cultural differences while at the same time recognizing the realistic demands of dominant culture and the future job market. If such integration is possible, so too is a life of satisfied employment.

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# Clarence Thomas, Anita Hill, and Us: A Group Relations Perspective on Issues of Diversity, Power, and Authority

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This presentation began with our coming together around the events of October 11-14th, 1991. Although each of us watched and listened to Anita Hill's testimony at the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings separately, we felt a strong need to connect in order to "process" what was happening and try to make sense of our intense feelings. In coming together as a group, we experienced relief. We were not alone in our impotence, outrage, and grief. Working as a group has enabled us to acknowledge our collective responsibility and mobilize our strong feelings. The political and external are not separate from the psychological and internal. As psychologists, we have a responsibility to look at how psychic conflict gets projected and manifested outwardly as well as inwardly. This paper is our call to action. Although each of us will read separate sections of this paper, we wrote the entire work together, and it represents our group-as-a-whole.

This paper will provide a group relations perspective on viewing issues of diversity in organizations and institutions. Differences in race, ethnicity, religion, gender, nationality, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, age, politics, and physical ability are often used unconsciously as weapons in the quest for power, authority, and leadership in organizations. We have chosen what came to be called the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill event illustrate this perspective, and in doing so, conceive of the entire nation as representing an institution. Our goal is to use this event as a case study to demonstrate how a group relations perspective can be used to understand issues of diversity within an institutional context.

The magnitude of media coverage and the reciprocal nature of viewer/reader voyeurism attests to the valence for, and potency of, the Thomas - Hill event. The event has largely been understood as an intrapsychic or interpersonal dynamic; that is, the problem was located in either Professor Hill or Judge Thomas or between the two of them. While evidence can be gathered to support either of these views, neither view accounts for the intensity of the nation's collective response. We believe that the intrapsychic and interpersonal perspectives are so compelling because they absolve us of our collective responsibility by placing the blame on the victim and exalting the perpetrator, by making it a lover's quarrel, or by making it a simple miscommunication between the sexes. A group relations perspective speaks to the role everyone played in unconsciously creating and colluding with the situation. This perspective views the individual as acting not only on his or her own behalf, but also on behalf of the group's collective unconscious (Wells, 1990). Individuals are often elected to be used by the group to represent some

aspect of the group's life. This can best be illustrated by the concept of projective identification, a cornerstone of the group relations model (Wells, 1990). This concept will be used to examine the ways in which groups, organizations, and institutions use subgroups of individuals as spokespersons, leaders, scapegoats, heroes, or enemies because of stereotyped assumptions based on such variables as race, gender, and class.

The following questions need to be examined: What have Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill been asked to "carry" on behalf of the nation; that is, what parts of ourselves have we disowned and put in them? Why were these individuals put forth at this time? How did issues of race and sex get used in service of the struggle for power, authority, and leadership? And why did we, as a nation, locate the issue of sexual harassment in them? The symposium will conclude with a discussion of how the group relations model can be used to diagnose and address the powerful covert processes that often accompany issues of diversity.

Institutions can be viewed as expressions of underlying political, economic, and social processes in society. As a result, institutions are vulnerable to social forces far greater than the sum total of individuals who comprise them. In order for these institutions to function more effectively and responsibly, it is important that the overt and covert processes which can both impede and enhance organizational functioning be made explicit. The Group Relations model provides a framework for viewing the rational and irrational, conscious and unconscious processes inherent in group and institutional life. Originally developed at the Tavistock Institute for Human Relations, theoretical roots of the Group Relations model can be traced to the work of Wilfred Bion and Melanie Klein (Rioch, 1979).

The premise of the Group Relations model is that an individual member's relationship to the group is parallel to the infant's relationship with mother (Wells, 1990). The group and mother are experienced as having the power to gratify and frustrate basic emotional needs, and thus it is impossible for members or infants to feel anything but ambivalence. In the same way that infants struggle with conflicting wishes to both merge and differentiate from mother, both group members struggle with conflicting wishes to join and remain separate. In order to tolerate the tension between engulfment and estrangement, both group members and infants employ defense mechanisms. Specifically, groups use splitting and projective identification to cope with the powerful forces endemic to group life (Wells, 1990).

Splitting is the group's desperate attempt to simplify the complex and conflicting feelings characteristic of group membership. By dividing the world, and in this case the group, into all good and all bad, members defend against the anxiety that accompanies the process of experiencing the group as being able to both satisfy and frustrate their needs. At times, group members nurture the fantasy that the group's survival is dependent on such simplification. The expectation that members should be able to tolerate the tension inherent in maintaining a view of individuals, and of the group, as simultaneously good and bad is so overwhelming that it is experienced as being powerful enough to dissolve or kill the group. The anxiety engendered by this expectation is what drives the group, collectively, toward splitting; the fear of collective death is so great that members believe, at these times, that the group must survive at any cost. Groups manage this anxiety by insisting, for example, that one member contain <u>all</u> the good and one member contain <u>all</u> the bad.

Projective identification is another defense commonly employed by individuals and groups to cope with the anxiety and ambivalence familiar to group life. It refers to the process by which individuals and groups deposit ambivalently held aspects of the self and/or the group into other individuals or parts of the group. Individuals are often chosen to be used by the group to represent some aspect of its life, and thus, members find themselves carrying disowned parts of others, or disowned parts of the group's life.

This exchange is, however, neither random nor coincidental. Members who are chosen to express others' feelings, in fact do so because they have an unconscious disposition, or "valence," for such emotions, and/or because of demographic characteristics. In this way, individuals unwittingly participate in being used by the group. A group member who finds it difficult to express her or his anger may encourage another member, who finds it easy to express anger, to do so on her or his behalf. In other words, the individual who is conflicted about expressing anger <u>projects</u> it into a group member who has a "valence" for expressing anger. The individual who projects the anger, then, feels in tune with, or <u>identifies</u>, with the member who is expressing the anger.

An individual's valence to be the container for others' projections is influenced not only by her or his individual psychological identity, but also by her or his group identity and the stereotypic attributions that accompany it (Wells, 1990). For example, as a result of stereotypic assumptions, a woman may find herself elected to cry for the group, or a black member may find her or himself chosen to carry the group's sexuality or rage.

To the extent that group members involve themselves in projective identification, they tacitly contract with the group to participate in a collusive process. This unconscious agreement constitutes the covert level of group life and creates the group-as-a-whole. That is to say, individuals and subgroups represent not only themselves, but also some part of the larger group or system.

The Group Relations model assumes that group process always occurs on two levels, the overt and covert (Rice, 1 965). The overt refers to what is actually taking place, what is observable, the content of what is being communicated. The covert refers to what is taking place under the surface, what is implied and not stated, the process of what is being communicated.

Finally, a Group Relations perspective highlights issues of power, authority, and leadership in group and institutional life. The anxiety generated by the process of joining groups and institutions requires that individuals be concerned about which groups, subgroups, or individuals have the power and the authority to lead, and how that interacts with an individual's personal authority.

Adopting this model with the assumptions and concepts we have just outlined will enable us to discuss how issues of race and gender are used by institutions in service of authority, power, and leadership. In order to make explicit the unconscious processes inherent to institutional life, one must pose and address particular kinds of questions. We will proceed with the questions that emerge from this model in order to understand the Thomas - Hill event more fully.

## Why were Clarence Thomas, Anita Hill, and the Senate Judiciary Committee put forth at this time?

Numerous citizens, that is, members of the large group, have been faced with issues of unemployment, economic hardship and deprivation, which have resulted in feelings of intense fear, powerlessness, isolation, and chaos. Many believe that rather than validating these feelings by implementing responsible interventions, the leadership has denied and dismissed them. These feelings, however, needed an outlet, and thus, led the large group to create a polarizing issue complete with heroes and villains to provide a sense of structure, order, and control. It was the group's fantasy that the Thomas - Hill event would somehow solve these problems, without members ever having to be directly involved in the associated pain and complexity. An event of this magnitude was necessary to pull the group out of the morass of apathy and cynicism. The Gulf crisis, similarly, simplified the chaos and ambiguity of complicated human existence by creating a situation in which good and bad would be immediately evident (Eisold, 1991). The international arena of the Gulf Crisis distracted the group's attention outward, away from domestic struggles, whereas the Thomas-Hill event focused our attention inward and demanded a confrontation with domestic issues.

## What did Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill carry or represent for the large group?

For his supporters, Clarence Thomas represented an innocent man who was viciously betrayed by both a woman and an unfair and biased system. As a result of his persecution he became a traditional hero, representing good in the face of evil. To his detractors, he represented an oppressor, a man whose contempt for women and those less powerful became the ultimate symbol of patriarchy. Clarence Thomas represented conflicting facets of traditional masculinity — power and domination on one side, and the voice of quiet reason and determination on the other.

Anita Hill represented our conflicted feelings about women. To her supporters, she was a heroine who sacrificed her own privacy and dignity in order to speak the truth about women's experience. She was seen as courageous and strong — in essence, the all powerful mother. To her detractors, she was viewed as a calculating traitor, an Eve like temptress, who betrayed a benevolent mentor and father figure. Anita Hill carried the flip sides of womanhood in our culture — Madonna and whore.

It was impossible for the nation to experience the range and complexity of femininity within Anita Hill, or masculinity within Clarence Thomas. Nor could we hold on to the notion that we each embody both the masculine and the feminine. So we split each gender into all good or all bad and then divided ourselves into separate and opposing camps.

## What is the work Clarence Thomas, Anita Hill, and the Senate Judiciary Committee have been asked to do on behalf of the nation?

We view the nation as a large group of which we are all individual members. By electing George Bush to be President of the United States, the large group authorized him to put forth a Supreme Court nominee for confirmation by the Senate. He put forth Clarence Thomas, a black male conservative whose qualifications were questioned by his peers of the

American Bar Association. This posed a moral dilemma for the nation. Unable to manage the dissonance aroused by such conflicting information, Anita Hill was put forth to provide information that had the potential to resolve the dilemma.

By coming forth with allegations of sexual harassment towards Clarence Thomas, Anita Hill injected the Senate Judiciary Committee with information that created doubt about Bush's judgement and therefore his authority. While claiming to be ambivalent about doing so, the Senate Judiciary Committee initially chose to keep this information secret. This decision served a dual function. It kept the information contained in the committee protecting the membership from having to wrestle with the idea that individuals can be both good and bad. Keeping the secret allowed the Committee to contain the challenge to the leader's power and authority. As long as the challenge was located in the Senate Judiciary Committee our belief in an omnipotent leader could remain intact.

## Why was this container unable to do its job and why did we choose a container that would leak?

The leak of the allegations against Clarence Thomas was literal evidence of the committee's inability to be an effective container for the challenge to President Bush. The Senate Judiciary Committee was unable to hold a view of Clarence Thomas as being both the President's nominee and a sexual harasser, as being both chosen by the leader and capable of exerting hostility, power, and control over a woman, as being both good and bad.

Being on the boundary between the President and the nation rendered the Senate Judiciary Committee impotent to exercise its authority in a socially responsible manner. The leak served the function of disseminating important information without having the Senate Judiciary Committee take responsibility for providing the public with the information. The leak also provided a red herring by placing attention on the process of the hearings rather than on the content of the allegations. It was easier to view the process, rather than our leaders, as being corrupt. Informing the nation of Anita Hill's allegations would have had serious consequences. It would have communicated that the committee viewed her as credible, and it would have acknowledged the seriousness of sexual harassment. Further, it would have made the Senate Judiciary Committee collusive in the challenge to Bush's authority. These attributions to their behavior would have threatened their boundary position. Their vulnerability reverberated throughout the large group.

## How did we manage this complexity? What function did splitting serve for the nation as a whole?

It is no accident that our solution was to make him all good and her all bad; undermining the credibility of Anita Hill was vital for the life of the group. Powerful attempts were made to destroy her credibility and assassinate her character. No expert on sexual harassment was called to testify. Clarence Thomas' witnesses far outnumbered Anita Hill's. His witnesses attacked her and supported him whereas her witnesses restricted themselves to speaking only about her character. All of this reflects our collusion in the process of deifying him and vilifying her.

Taking the allegations seriously would have meant recognizing and acknowledging Professor Hill's power. Powerful women engender powerful feelings. The experience of female power brings up intense and ambivalent feelings left over from early mother-child interactions where mother is the source of both frustration and gratification. Since we don't know how to effectively manage or negotiate these primitive feelings, the pull is to dismiss the feelings outright or to destroy their source. To keep Anita Hill in a position of power would have triggered our passive dependent longings reminiscent of the time when we were infants at the breast. The only solution was matricide.

## How did issues of race get used in service of the struggle for power, authority, and leadership?

Many of us found it painful and embarrassing to watch two black people defending themselves to the all white Committee; it highlighted the extent and impact of institutionalized racism. It is interesting to note that Clarence Thomas initially did not want his race to be made an issue during the nomination and confirmation process. It was only after Anita Hill's charges were brought forth, and he was in jeopardy of losing the nomination that he himself highlighted the issue of race. Race could not be used as a power ploy when the dispute was kept between Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill since they were of the same race. The power differential here was one of gender and position. However, race was effectively used by Clarence Thomas against the white Senate Judiciary Committee in his bid for power.

Once Clarence Thomas accused the group of organizing a high tech lynching, it was inevitable that we rally around him. His accusation evoked the painful and powerful history of racial injustices in this country, and tapped into our collective feelings

of anger, guilt, shame, and helplessness. In order to feel powerful, and to right such terrible wrongs, the group rushed to Clarence Thomas' defense. It was intolerable for us to publicly witness the lynching of yet another black man. We needed to believe that this kind of behavior was behind us. Thus our attention was focused not on power, but on race. Again, we were able to respond to the explicit issue — race, rather than the implicit issue — power. Openly acknowledging that the explicit issue was one of power, rather than race, would have meant coming to terms with our collective involvement and responsibility. Race was a potent distractor because it offered us all the illusion of being able to redress the racial abominations of our country's past.

Clarence Thomas was not the only one to invoke race in service of power. The issue of race can be traced back to Bush's decision to replace Justice Thurgood Marshall with another black male judge. Though both Marshall and Thomas are black, their political ideologies are widely divergent. Had Bush nominated a white conservative male his attempt to control the Supreme Court and thus the large group, would have been even more transparent. By nominating Clarence Thomas, a black conservative male, the issue of power was masked by race. It was uncomfortable for many of us to publicly denounce a black nominee even though we found his political views to be unacceptable. Even in the face of charges of sexual harassment and his questionable political beliefs about women and other visible racial/ethnic group members, the fear of being labelled racist silenced many.

Anita Hill's race served a different function for this group. It is no accident that we put forth a black woman to challenge the authority. Any woman would have been unlikely to succeed in this endeavor; a black woman would be even more likely to fail. Because of the oppressive forces of racism and sexism, black women represent the least powerful group in our society. Even the professional stature and outstanding credentials of Anita Hill did not allow for success. This was one more way to ensure that our rebellion would collapse.

## Why was sexual harassment the arena in which this work took place? That is, how did sex get used in service of the struggle for power, authority, and leadership?

Sexual harassment was the perfect arena for this struggle. It was easy to see the issue as being about sex, lust, erotica, and the personal rather than power relations. Experts on sexual harassment all concur that sexual harassment is about the abuse of power, not about having sex. It is interesting to note that none of these experts were allowed into the hearings, and therefore their powerful voices were silenced. We insisted on not using the knowledge available to us and thus continued to collude in keeping the issue of power a secret. Since any talk or focus on power engenders deep and primitive fears of mother, we went to great lengths to keep Clarence Thomas, the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee, and the overwhelmingly male Senate body in power in order to control Anita Hill's power. A man's corrupt power is still more tolerable than a woman's power, corrupt or otherwise.

## How do we understand that racism and sexism were pitted against one another and viewed as mutually exclusive explanations for the Thomas-Hill event?

As long as the issue was seen as either one of racism or sexism, as having to do with either women or visible racial/ethnic group members, each of these disenfranchised groups would remain in separate camps, fighting with each other. However, had they been able to join forces and collaborate in a unified struggle against the dominant power structure, issues of competency and power would have emerged and the rebellion might have succeeded. This is yet another example of how the group used splitting, albeit unwittingly, to undermine the rebellion it supposedly sought, and again, to cloak the issue of power.

## And what would a successful rebellion have meant? What were the risks?

A successful rebellion would have meant that not only did a black woman speak the truth, but also that we, as a large group, fully authorized her to lead a challenge against the white patriarchal structure of our nation. It would have meant disrupting the homeostatic balance of gender and race inequity in this country. It would have meant claiming back that which we projected out. Both women and men would have had to claim back their stereotyped projections, not only about each other, but about themselves. Blacks and whites would have had to claim back their stereotyped projections not only about each other, but also about themselves. Integrating masculinity and femininity, black and white, would have meant that we, individually and collectively, would have shifted the one-up, one-down structure of our institution. Leadership would have been up for grabs; there would have been a struggle for power and authority among equals.

As we have illustrated, many powerful covert dynamics accompany issues of race and gender within institutions and organizations. In addition to intrapsychic and interpersonal processes, group process provides another level for analysis. This perspective provides additional information by asking a new set of questions. Individuals alone are not held accountable for the dynamics enacted by the larger system. The Group Relations model fosters a climate of examination and understanding rather than one of accusation and blame. Working at the group level, institutions and organizations are free to diagnose and address not only their overt activities but also the powerful covert processes at work.

In order to understand any given institutional or organizational event, one needs to ask questions such as: Why now? Who is being accused of what, and by whom? What function does this event serve for the larger system? Who has the power? Who's in charge? What groups of people get assigned which tasks? And who carries what for the system? For example, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that it is three white women who have put themselves forth and have been put forth to take up the task of examining the Clarence Thomas - Anita Hill event. How do we understand the meaning of this from a group relations perspective? Those of you who know us might attribute the formation of our group to proximity, relationship, or shared scholarly interests. And yet, our formation can and needs to be understood in terms of its group meaning, rather than as an individual act or event.

We are a microcosm of a far larger group. The media noted that those who most strongly identified with Anita Hill were white, highly educated, middle class women like ourselves. How come? In our culture black women have been oppressed by both racism and sexism. While white women have been oppressed by sexism, they have been afforded white privilege through their racial group membership and their access to white men. The atrocity of racism necessitates that black women's loyalty often be to race rather than to the uncertain allegiance of gender. For black women, supporting Anita Hill meant public disloyalty to a black man. For white women, supporting Anita Hill did not require divided loyalties. From the position of white privilege, white women could identify with Anita Hill as a woman.

It is also important to remember that institutions often expect and depend on women and other visible racial/ethnic group members to work on their own behalf, thus obscuring the need for shared responsibility. This creates a no win situation. The group-as-a-whole leaves it to those who are visibly different to become advocates for the less powerful. However, women and other visible racial/ethnic group members are then accused of seeing only a limited piece of the picture, thereby undermining the very work that is expected of them (Fouad & Carter, 1992).

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# The Cultural Dilemma of Educating Organizations

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## The Cultural Dilemma

Educating organizations are contexts for cultural production and are cultural products. Schools have the formal role of transmitting culture. They represent the culture to itself as a product. They are cultural archetypes. They are the contexts in which culture is acquired and produced. They certify the cultural competence of society's participants.

The High School, the university, the academy, each is charged to apply methods of transmission of cultural products, ideas, values, concepts, the methods of distinguishing truth from illusion. We hold them fundamentally accountable for providing us with the intellectual means of achieving a reasonably effective means of collective discourse. We expect them to underwrite our participation in political democracy, provide a common culture, and inculcate the appropriate values, attitudes and beliefs. Schools have an important job, a critical role and it used to be so easy.

Before multiculturalism, there were never questions like, Whose culture to transmit? Whose values to endorse? Whose literature to canonize? After multiculturalism, those of us who run the schools have had to rethink many of the cultural foundations of education to address questions like, What languages do we educate in? What is the ethnic distribution among our faculty? What is the ethnic distribution among our leadership? Whose cultural processes do we endorse? Education is a product and a process. Education represents our culture's considered effort to pass itself along. Whose culture do we transmit? How do we transmit it?

Multiculturalism holds educating organizations accountable for diversity in terms of the content of their curricula and their management processes. What does it mean to be accountable for diversity? Robert Carter (1991) holds us accountable for diversity when he writes:

> Mismatches of cultural values affect the delivery mental health and educational services, their communication processes and their interactional dynamics." (p. 185)

and implies that the cultural patterns of White Americans form the context for much of what we call education. Gerald Sue (1991) holds us accountable for diversity when he challenges us to increase the graduation/promotion rates among members of racial-ethnic groups.

Those of us who lead the schools are challenged to accommodate diversity in our curricula and among the people we employ to deliver them. All over the United States curricula are being revised. Diversity training is being delivered to teachers, principals, college professors, Deans, Vice Presidents and Presidents. Whose culture will we deliver? How do we do multicultural? Why do we educate to accommodate diversity? We integrate to accommodate diversity. Let's make an example of higher education.

Today I am employed at the Post-Middle States Iteration of Baruch College of the City University of New York. There are few if any other schools in the U.S. that have been more openly challenged to accommodate diversity. We had our diversity problems reported publicly and remembered every time Secretary Lamar Alexander frowned toward Middle State's Howard Simmons. Like so many other colleges my college is revising its curriculum. It will be more non-western in liberal arts, more global in business, and more multicultural in education. The content is being adjusted. But what about the process? The leaders of today's institutions of higher education are challenged to revise not only their curricula, but also their organizational processes. We need to serve a culturally diverse student group with a culturally sensitive and competent faculty group, that is lead by a culturally effective administrative team. Educating organizations have a complex route to travel in accommodating diversity. Daryl Smith (1989) defines successful patterns as:

- A focus on student's success and providing the tools for success.
- Developing programs for increased articulation between community colleges and four year colleges and universities.
- Dedicating energy and resources to creating an accepting environment that nourished and encourages success.
- Providing access to good information that focuses on the institution and students.

- Involving leaders in the faculty and administration who can provide strong direction for these efforts. (p. 48)

Initially institutions of higher education focused on reforming the culturally different students. Interventions and institutional accommodations included special programs, services and support. As "non-traditional students" have become the norm, the basic organization of the College is called into question. From now into the next century accommodating diversity will demand institutions that are organized for diversity. The answer to the question, Whose culture to transmit? is multiplied by the range of groups participating in the process. It is a complex answer that requires resolving a range of issues such as:

- **Achieving Diversity of Faculty and Staff**

Diverse perspectives are required to develop pluralistic organizations. We are in deep trouble here. Numbers of students from racial-ethnic groups in the academic pipeline will not meet the demand of the near term future. Promotion and retention of racial-ethnic group scholars is still a struggle against traditional values and intellectual traditions.

- **Mission and Values**

Questions concerning which values are central to a college's mission are critical. Cooperation/Competition or Individualism/Community are two examples of value domains where members of racial-ethnic groups may conflict with dominant institutional value traditions. Institutional leaders need to be clear about values to avoid continuing to marginalize the culturally different.

- **Educating for Diversity**

This means addressing issues in the content of the curriculum as well as the interactional dynamics of the organization. Combatting ignorance and insensitivity to racial-ethnic group members needs to be just as much a part of the curriculum as their music, literature and art. Curriculum content, learning/teaching styles and modes of assessment are key elements.

- **Dealing with Conflict**

Diversity implies conflict of ethnic and cultural issues. Group identities are shaped and evolve in contrast to perceptions of social others. Managing conflict along the boundaries of ethnic, national, gender and racial groups is key to organization effectiveness.

- **Managing the Quality of Interaction**

The interactions of students with the institution, its faculty and its systems of service delivery must be considered. Campus climate and achieving effectiveness of relationships among the various constituent reference groups is little understood and poorly represented (Smith, 1989).

Ultimately the institutions of higher education will have to address the central issue of managing the perceived conflict between quality and diversity. This perception derives from cultural conflicts at the core of the colleges' role as an acculturating institution. When it examines itself from its own traditional perspective there is no apparent conflict only students who don't have the appropriate cultural experiences. Increasing diversity is forcing the question to be viewed from different cultural perspectives, whose culture do we transmit? Different does not equal deficient. In not too very long quality institutions will be those that are organized for diversity.

Reorganizing for diversity has quickly become an issue for the leadership of educating organizations. This past week I had the pleasure of hearing Ann Morrison of the Center for Creative Leadership discuss results of her new study of Leadership Diversity. She has in her prior work documented the "glass ceiling" that racial-ethnic group members confront as they approach leadership level positions in organizations. Her recent project "Guidelines on Leadership Diversity" speaks to the issues for educating organizational leaders in ways that I find quite compelling. In her view:

- Organizing for diversity is a leadership issue.
- Leaders need to be from diverse backgrounds.
- Effective leaders of culturally diverse organizations must develop ways of achieving the maximum potential of people regardless of the cultural form it comes in.

Morrison's research, which will be published in August, distilled five steps in addressing diversity issues from the position of an organizational leader. They are:

(1) Discover or rediscover current problems.

(2) Strengthen top management's commitment.

(3) Choose practices carefully.

(4) Demand results.

(5) Build on past successes.

- **Discover or rediscover current problems**
  - Requires an institutional audit to:
    Define problem areas
    Assess perceptions of the organization
    Recognize barriers to advancement across diverse groups:

Prejudice
Poor career development
Poor work environment, isolation, no mentors
Less knowledge, skills, organizational savvy
Comfort with own kind
Career vs. family

Identify real vs. assumed problems

Assumed problem — Women leave professional positions due to conflicts between career goal and family life.

Real problem — Professional women leave positions for the same reasons as professional men; a perceived lack of career opportunities.

- **Strengthen top management's commitment**
  - Requires top management support in order to proceed.
  - At least top management needs to be tolerant of changes.
  - Data must get to senior executives in order to define problems.
  - No news does not equal good news. Top managers need to be active and concerned.
- **Choose practices carefully**
  - Practices are many and varied. They need to match the data and the apparent culture of the organization in order to be viable.
  - Work toward a strategic balance of practices such as:

    Recruitment — scholarships & programs
    Development education and training
    Accountability — clear targets and goals with performance review and compensation
    Education to change attitudes slowly
    Enforcement to change behavior
    Exposure to structure change at the personal level
    Managers need to be challenged, then recognized and supported
- **Demand results**
  - Data and numerical goals are required in spite of issues with quotas
  - Develop and use numerical goals
  - Include other measures of success — morale, job satisfaction
  - Expect what managers can deliver
- **Build on past successes**
  - Leverage prior success
  - Add diversity to diversity — include gender, race, ethnicity, international issues and issues concerning the physically challenged.
  - Acknowledge the powerful role of group identify in organizational interactions.

Ultimately accommodating diversity becomes a personal development issue for every member of an educating organization. But it has to start with leadership. There was a time when as a plain vanilla professor I could get away with calling for more involvement of top educational managers. I can't do that any more. I have become one of them. So, in the same way I demanded earlier change at the personal level for effective multicultural counseling. I am recognizing the comprehensive need for personal accountability in educating organizations.

I would be seriously remiss if I didn't mention that much of our progress in organizing for diversity is in jeopardy because of the dire fiscal problems faced by institutions of higher education. In the name of fiscal expediency many of the supports and practices are vulnerable as the colleges assess their values and priorities to make budget cuts. There is a tendency to go back to known practices in such economic climates. Old practices appear very attractive in the face of limited resources. Managing diversity in the short term cannot be compromised by limited resources. Creative energy and initiative will be required to hold on to the gains that have been made.

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# The Relationship Between White Counselors' Racial Identity Attitudes and Their Responses to White Clients Presenting Racial Issues

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Data was collected from White nationally certified counselors in three eastern states on the incidence of racial issues occurring with their White clients. In addition, the counselors completed the WRIAS and responded to a questionnaire about a case scenario involving possible racial issues for a White client. Multiple regression analyses on the first returns from respondents did not support a gender effect in responses to racial matters but did provide evidence of the developmental aspect of White racial identity, as theorized by Helms (1990). Over half the counselors reported some incidence of White clients' bringing up racial issues relevant to their counseling concerns, and more than a quarter reported some White clients with racial issues as their main counseling concerns.

## Introduction

With the increasing pluralism of American society, it can be anticipated that White clients' needs for help with racial issues will also rise. Preparation to meet such an increase calls for understanding the nature and incidence of racial issues already occurring in the counseling of White clients, as well as the development of information about how counselors may assess and address such needs as they do occur. Currently the only research to investigate such questions is the work of Helms (e.g., 1990a) and Carter (1990). Helms's (1990a) stage theory of racial identity development and her interaction model (1990b) provide a theoretical frame of reference for investigating White counseling dyads, while Carter's research strongly supports the salience of developmental stages of racial identity, rather than race itself, in White counseling dyads.

Helms's (1990a) model of White racial identity development suggests that White clients' and counselors' perceptions of and responses to racial issues brought into counseling vary according to their stage of racial identity development. In particular, White counselors' awareness of and ability to acknowledge a White client's racial issue as well as to empathize with the client's affective response to the issue are likely to be controlled by the counselor's stage of racial consciousness. Helms also hypothesizes about the attitudinal and behavioral predispositions that are likely to be brought into the counseling relationship by clients and therapists at different stages of racial consciousness (Helms, 1990a, 1990b).

Carter (1990) investigated Helms's interaction model, using 19 simulated White counseling dyads consisting of volunteers at a multicultural workshop. Using measures of counselor intentions, client reactions, and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale, Carter found 37 significant relationships. Specific interpretations of these findings are limited, however, because 10 of the correlations could be significant by chance.

Following up on the work of Helms and Carter, the present study proposed (a) to conduct an exploratory needs assessment concerning White clients and racial issues and (b) to investigate the relationship between White counselors' racial identity attitudes and the stance White counselors adopt in responding to a White client presenting a racial issue. The present study sought specificity by narrowing the focus to counselor reactions and by controlling for the salience of the racial issue. The present study also sought stronger external validity by sampling a population of counselors in the field. Specific research questions addressed in this preliminary analysis, in addition to the needs assessment, were the following:

(1) Will White counselors' racial identity attitudes, as measured by the WRIAS, predict their responses to a specific case scenario, as measured by the case questionnaire?

(2) Will White counselors' levels of attitudes at the later stages of racial identity development tend to increase with the age and the experience of the counselor?

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(3) Will White counselors' levels of attitudes related to racial identity development and responses to a specific case scenario vary with gender?

(4) Will White counselors' responses to the WRIAS as well as to the case questionnaire vary with their exposure to multicultural workshops and/or courses?

Later analyses will investigate questions related to Helms's (1990) interaction model and counseling.

## Method

### Subjects

A sample of 400 counselors certified by the National Board for Certified Counselors in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia was randomly selected by computer from a total population of 1575. Counselors who had identified themselves as nonwhite were excluded from selection. To qualify for certification, the counselors had to hold at least a master's degree, pass a national examination, and have at least two years' half-time experience.

### Instruments

The sample was sent a background questionnaire, a case scenario, a case questionnaire, and the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

The background questionnaire was developed by the researcher and tested only for clarity by administration to 4 advanced counseling students. The questionnaire asked for demographic data, preparation to work with racial issues, racial makeup of client population, the past year's incidence of racial issues, a tabulation of racial issues raised by White clients, counselor self-perception of competence with these issues, and counselor possession of resources related to White clients' racial issues.

The case scenario and case questionnaire were developed by the researcher and submitted to a panel of five individuals, who evaluated the racial identity stage of the client in the case scenario, assigned a racial identity stage to each of 31 counselor reactions to the case scenario, and indicated the degree of conflict or tension and the likelihood of change they believed would be associated with each of the 31 reactions. Three panel members were researchers and/or theorists already familiar with Helms's theory and interaction model; two others were advanced doctoral students who were briefed on the theory and model. All five were provided with summaries of Helms's theory and interaction model.

Interrater agreement (at least 3 out of 5) was reached on 22 of the 31 items. Two items rated by 2 of 5 panel members at the same stage and by other panel members at adjacent stages were revised to increase compatibility with the intended stage. A third item was added so that each racial identity stage would be represented by 5 items. The added item was rated by three panel members at the appropriate stage. Ratings for the five subscales averaged from 3.4 to 4.6.

Interrater agreement on the likelihood of client change associated with the items ranged from 2.4 to 4.6, with change considered likely by the majority of raters only for the Autonomy subscale.

The White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) (Helms & Carter, 1990) is a rationally derived instrument consisting of five 10-item subscales designed to measure attitudes related to the original five stages of racial identity development in Helms's (1984) model of White racial identity development. Three studies of the reliability of the WRIAS found subscale reliabilities ranging from .55 and .67 for Contact to .75, .80, and .82 for Reintegration (Helms & Carter, 1990). Construct validity of the WRIAS has been supported by correlations between the subscales that are consistent with the theoretical descriptions of the stages measured by the scales; that is, subscales measuring stages sharing some characteristics correlate positively while subscales measuring stages theorized to be very different correlate negatively (Helms & Carter, 1990). Studies by McCaine (cited by Helms & Carter, 1990), Carter (1987), and Westbrook (cited by Helms & Carter, 1990) identify relationships between attitudes as predicted by Helms's stage model and the subscales intended to assess the stages. In addition, Tokar and Swanson (1991) found that higher WRIAS scores on the more advanced stages of racial identity development were associated with measures of positive mental health.

Both the WRIAS and the case questionnaire use 5-point Likert scales ranging from 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree.

### Procedure

The first mailing consisted of a cover letter, consent form, background questionnaire, case scenario, case questionnaire, the WRIAS, and a self-addressed stamped envelope. Two follow-up mailings will be conducted. Returned surveys were dated to permit comparison of earlier and later responses.

## Preliminary Results

Of the 400 counselors selected for the sample, 12 were nondeliverable and 2 additional ones were returned by retirees, leaving an n of 386. In response to the first mailing, 113 (29%) returned their packages in time for this analysis. The average age of the group was 43 (SD = 8); the average length of experience was 12 years (SD = 7). Table 1 shows additional information about the sample.

The most common issues involving race brought up by White clients to the respondents were related to work and dating (n = 107). About 27 percent of the respondents (n = 101) reported racial concerns occurring as main issues with some of their White clients; as a percentage of their caseloads, estimates of the incidence of racial concerns as main issues ranged from 0 to 30 percent. Racial concerns relevant to White clients' counseling concerns were estimated by 47 percent of the respondents to occur at incidence rates of .1 percent to 30 percent of cases; the remaining counselors reported no incidence (n = 99).

Most of the respondents (57.4%; n = 101) were satisfied with their handling of their White clients' racial issues, but others (39.6%) reported that they had either some or many concerns in this area. Only 10.6 percent (n = 113) reported some type of formal preparation for working with White clients' racial issues, while 21 percent (n = 105) indicated that they had case studies, interventions, or strategies related to racial concerns of White clients.

The relationship between counselors' responses to the case questionnaire subscales and their responses to the WRIAS subscales was analyzed by Pearson correlations. Every one of the case questionnaire subscales correlated significantly with at least one WRIAS subscale, but not necessarily with the WRIAS subscale it was intended to match. The Disintegration, Reintegration, and Autonomy subscales showed the strongest associations (r = .35 or .36) across the two measures (p = .0003). Further analysis is clearly needed to clarify the relationship of the subscales in the two instruments; the final analysis of the subscale responses, when data collection is complete, will include canonical correlation and principal components analysis.

The second specific research question, the relationship of counselors' responses to the WRIAS with their age, years of experience, and incidence of racial issues (reported as percentage of caseload), was analyzed by multiple regression. A significant effect was found for the Autonomy subscale (F = 2.63; p = 0.04), with years of experience the significant factor (t = 2.42; p = 0.02).

The third specific research question concerned the effect of gender on White counselors' responses to the case questionnaire and to the WRIAS. Preliminary analysis by multiple regression showed a gender effect only for the Disintegration subscale on the case questionnaire (F = 5.79; p = 0.02); the mean for the 33 men was 11.2 compared to the 79 women's 10.1.

The fourth specific research question examined the relationship between counselors' responses to the WRIAS and the case questionnaire and their exposure to multicultural courses and workshops. Multiple regression analysis found a significant relationship between multicultural training and only one subscale, the Contact scale, of the case questionnaire. The combined effect of multicultural workshops and multicultural courses was significant at the 0.0013 level.

## Discussion

With responses from only 29 percent of the subjects to date, these preliminary analyses about White counselors and the racial issues of White clients must be regarded as very tentative. However, should the future responses be more or less consistent with those reported here, a number of findings will be worth reporting.

First, the positive correlation between White counselors' years of experience and levels of Autonomy attitudes supports Helms's theory that White racial identity results from a developmental process and that this process is driven by critical incident rather than merely age. Thus exposure to racial issues through the experience of counseling would provide an impetus to development of racial identity attitudes that growing older by itself might not. It appears that the multicultural workshops and courses taken by the respondents have not been provocative of racial identity development, since they are positively associated with the race-minimizing attitudes of the case Contact scale. However, data on the length of these courses and workshops has not yet been analyzed and may clarify the relationship. The content of these experiences would also be an important factor, but this data was not collected.

Second, it may be that White counselors may generally not differ by gender in their responses to racial matters. Since the number of male respondents to date is low, the follow-up data collection could change this tentative finding.

The relationship of counselors' responses on the case questionnaire and on the WRIAS remains to be clarified by further data collection and analysis. Limited correlation between corresponding subscales of

clarified by further data collection and analysis. Limited correlation between corresponding subscales of the two instruments is not surprising, since the case questionnaire is a more restrictive sampling of attitudes associated with the stages of racial identity development, both in the fewer number of items per subscale (5 rather than 10), and in the diversity of attitudes represented. Thus the case Contact scale items express only minimizing of race, and the Disintegration scale only helplessness and confusion. The case Contact scale correlates significantly only with the WRIAS Reintegration scale; while the case Pseudo-Independent scale correlates negatively with the WRIAS Pseudo-Independent scale. Speculation on these findings and understanding of the limitations of this part of the study best pend more collection of data and more complex analysis.

Although most counselors reported not experiencing racial issues as main concerns among their White clients in the past year and half of them saw no racial issues they considered relevant to their White clients' issues, the percentages of counselors encountering such issues with their White clients are not negligible. Furthermore, six of the eight items on the racial issue checklist were indicated as client issues by one-fifth to one-third of those responding. To respond to these issues, only 10.6 percent of the counselors reported any kind of formal training, usually as part of a multicultural course. About 40 percent indicated that they had concerns about handling their White clients' racial issues in counseling. Although the continuing data collection may either dilute or intensify these findings, the tentative conclusion is that a sizable number of White counselors see a need for professional development in the area of working with White clients' racial issues.

Obvious follow-up steps to this study are twofold. The first would be to investigate what White counselors are using as strategies and interventions with White clients presenting racial issues. The second follow-up would be to investigate the connection between White counselors' cognitions about a case, such as the one used in this study, and what they actually do, using measures in vivo such as Carter did in his 1987 research. Some method of correcting for politically and/or professionally desirable responses would also be helpful in these investigations.

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# Anxiety Disorders in African-Americans: Diagnosis and Treatment in An Urban Hospital Setting

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This paper will outline the issues involved in the diagnosis and treatment of anxiety disorders, particularly panic disorder, in African-Americans. Although epidemiological studies have shown similar prevalence rates of anxiety disorders among African-Americans and non-African-Americans, African-Americans are under-represented among those in treatment at mental health settings or serving as clinical research subjects. In addition, few studies have researched the unique demographic, diagnostic, and treatment characteristics of African-American patients with anxiety disorders. Most clinicians are therefore not educated to consider these issues in adapting their treatment approach to affect a more successful treatment outcome for African-American anxiety disordered patients. The first part of the paper will focus on identifying and addressing relevant cross-cultural issues. We draw on a body of research done in our urban hospital setting over the last six years. The second part of the paper will address the unique challenges of providing cognitive-behavioral treatment to African-Americans with anxiety disorders.

## Introduction

Few studies have focused specifically on the unique demographic, diagnostic and treatment characteristics of minority patients with anxiety disorders. Among psychiatric conditions treated primarily in ambulatory mental health settings, anxiety disorders are the most common (Myers et al., 1984). It is estimated that 16 million Americans suffer from an anxiety disorder, yet less than 25% receive appropriate treatment (NIMH, 1991). In the Epidemiological Catchment Area study (ECA) (Robins et al., 1984) over 18,000 community members were interviewed for the presence of psychiatric disorders. Data from the ECA program reveal that the lifetime prevalence rates for anxiety disorders in the general population were as follows: phobias = 13.5%, panic disorder = 1.4%, obsessive-compulsive disorder = 2.5%. (Robins et al., 1984).

The ECA study found few significant statistical differences with respect to race in the prevalence of anxiety disorders. The ECA study did report, however, that African-Americans have a significantly higher lifetime prevalence of simple phobia and agoraphobia (Robins et al., 1984). Brown et al. (1990) also reported that, in the general population, there is a higher prevalence among blacks than whites of

phobic disorders, including agoraphobia, social phobia, and simple phobia.

Some methodological problems related to the data on African-Americans were noted in the ECA study. Middle and upper class African-Americans were under-represented and elderly African-Americans were over-represented in the sample (Williams, 1986). There is also concern that the DSM-III-R may be lacking in cultural sensitivity since it was based on the study of predominantly white subjects.

A review of the literature confirms the contention of many that there is a paucity of anxiety disorder research focusing on African-Americans (Neal & Turner, 1991). One reason may be that African-Americans in general are less likely than whites to seek needed psychiatric treatment, and so do not come to the attention of clinical researchers. Traditionally, African-Americans have turned for care or service to providers within their community such as a minister or family doctor (Neighbors, 1985, 1988). Neighbors found that when he polled 1,322 black respondents, 87% of those who were experiencing psychological problems sought help from some informal network. Of the 48% who sought professional health care, 21.9% went to emergency rooms, 22.3% went to general physicians and 18.9% went to ministers. Only 9% of these respondents sought care from mental health clinicians (Neighbors, 1985).

Previous research has shown that African-Americans are often misdiagnosed when they do seek treatment at mental health centers. It has been reported that affective disorders are often underdiagnosed and schizophrenic disorders over-diagnosed in blacks (Adebimpe, 1981). This diagnostic bias has been attributed to factors such as cultural differences in the description of symptoms or difficulties in the relationship between white therapists and black patients. It has been noted, for example, that affective disordered blacks and Hispanics are more likely than whites to describe hallucinations, which can lead the clinician to incorrectly diagnose schizophrenia (Jones & Gray, 1986; Mukherjee et al., 1983; Fabrega et al., 1988; Jones et al., 1981).

A recent study (Paradis et al. 1992) of the routine diagnostic intake process in an inner city outpatient department showed that anxiety disorders were significantly underdiagnosed in African-Americans. In this study, one hundred and three consecutive patients presenting for intake interviews at an outpatient psychiatric department in an inner-city municipal hospital were interviewed. The Anxiety Disorders Interview Scale (ADIS-R) (DiNardo et al., 1988), a lengthy structured interview designed to assess anxiety symptoms and assign patients to DSM-III-R diagnoses, was used.

Nearly one-fourth of the 100 patients evaluated by the ADIS-R met diagnostic criteria for panic disorder. Seven of the patients with panic disorder did not meet diagnostic criteria for any other psychiatric disorder and therefore received a primary Axis I diagnosis of panic disorder. Sixteen other patients were given a secondary diagnosis of panic disorder with a primary diagnosis of an affective or psychotic disorder. One patient's symptoms met criteria for a primary diagnosis of obsessive-compulsive disorder. Three patients were diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder, one with general anxiety disorder and two with social phobia. When these diagnostic results were compared with those of the regular outpatient department staff, it was clear that anxiety disorders were seriously underdiagnosed and that anxiety disordered patients were incorrectly assigned diagnoses from the schizophrenic spectrum. The staff did not assign a primary or secondary diagnosis of panic disorder, obsessive-compulsive disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, social phobia, or simple phobia to any of the patients.

This study (Paradis et al., 1992) described a diagnostic bias that may emerge when panic disordered black patients, particularly newly immigrated West Indians, present for an intake evaluation. Patients who express a belief in voodoo or who describe panic symptoms in the language of their culture may appear to have more severe pathology to an evaluating clinician who is not sensitive to cultural differences in the manifestation of psychiatric symptoms.

The difficulty in accurately diagnosing panic disorder in a transcultural treatment context is illustrated in the following case example. A 43 year old Guyanese woman described physical symptoms characteristic of panic attacks. She experienced rapid heartbeat, dizziness, nausea, and chills lasting for approximately 20 minutes. She was concerned that she might die during an attack. These attacks began when she broke up with her boyfriend. Rather than using expressions such as panic attack or anxiety, she stated "I feel like I'm going to die . . . I worry it's not natural . . . not natural causes, evil like someone put a curse on me. . . . I'm afraid people might look at me and ridicule me because of how I look, people might talk about me."

The patient had made attempts to alleviate her symptoms by staying home where she was less likely to experience panic attacks (manifesting agoraphobic symptoms as is common in patients with PD). She also began to drink a special herbal drink prepared by a spiritualist. She had no previous history of inpatient psychiatric treatment. She had been attending an outpatient clinic for approximately ten years but was discharged due to poor attendance.

Her diagnosis during that time was adjustment disorder with psychotic symptoms.

When evaluated by the outpatient department clinician for this study, she was diagnosed with "schizophrenia, chronic paranoid type." The clinician stated "The patient's bizarre delusion of an evil spirit inside her body, her persecutory delusion of her boyfriend plotting against her, her paranoid delusions of people thinking she is ugly and laughing at her .... all speak for the diagnosis of schizophrenia, although the onset of delusions at age 33, her normal affect, and the absence of formal thought disorder are inconsistent with the classical presentation of schizophrenia."

Friedman et al. (1992) found that anxiety disorders are also prevalent in African-Americans presenting for treatment in medical settings. Dermatology clinic patients were screened to identify what proportion of them met standard diagnostic criteria for anxiety disorders. Surprisingly, when using a structured clinical interview, 43% of the patients met diagnostic criteria for one or more anxiety disorders. Seven patients were diagnosed with generalized anxiety disorder, six with social phobia, five with obsessive compulsive-disorder (OCD), and three with panic disorder.

A particularly interesting finding in this study was the prevalence of OCD. It was hypothesized that many people who engaged in compulsive body washing or house cleaning rituals would seek dermatological help for the skin problems caused by prolonged exposure to cleaning chemicals and water. As far as we are able to ascertain, this was the first clinical study of obsessive-compulsive disorder in African-Americans, suggesting that they are presenting to physicians rather than for psychiatric treatment.

There has been some research focusing on possible differences in the characteristics of anxiety symptoms in minority populations. Fabrega et al. (1988) found that African-Americans living in an urban setting were more likely than whites to report homicidal ideation, unstable interpersonal relationships and more aggressive behavior.

These differences in manifestations of anxiety in African-Americans were not found in a study by Friedman and Paradis (1991) of African-Americans who presented to an anxiety disorders clinic for treatment. In this study fifteen African-American female patients with panic disorder and agoraphobia were matched to an equivalent sample of white patients. Although there were no significant differences between the African-American and white agoraphobics with respect to age of onset or symptom severity, as measured by self-rating and clinical rating scales, African-American patients reported having experienced significantly more parental losses and separations during childhood. In addition, four of the African-American agoraphobics, compared to none of the whites, had been psychiatrically hospitalized. It seems that for these four African-American patients, their severe panic attacks were not recognized as such by the evaluating psychiatrist. As a result, these patients were hospitalized on psychiatric units for several days of observation. A retrospective analysis of the clinical material presented as well as a chart review of the psychiatric hospitalization suggested that these admissions were clinically unnecessary. This study provides further evidence that health care professionals in inner-city emergency rooms may not be well trained to recognize panic disorder in African-American patients.

A study by Bell and colleagues (1986, 1988) indicated that possible racial differences may exist in the manifestation of anxiety, specifically isolated sleep paralysis. Isolated sleep paralysis is defined as an altered state of consciousness, experienced while falling asleep or awakening. During an episode the individual is unable to move for several seconds or minutes. The individual often reports feelings of anxiety or apprehension during and after the episode. Bell and colleagues (1986) found that 15.5% of African-Americans reporting isolated sleep paralysis also suffered from panic disorder, suggesting that African-Americans suffering from panic disorder may present with primary complaints other than those classically seen in panic attacks.

## Diagnosis of Anxiety Disorders

DSM-III-R (1987) has established specific diagnostic criteria, based on inclusion and exclusion criteria, for each anxiety disorder. The six specific anxiety disorders listed include: Panic Disorder (with and without agoraphobia), Social Phobia, Generalized Anxiety Disorder, Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder, Simple Phobia, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

Individuals with Panic Disorder (PD) experience either four panic attacks within a four-week period or have one or more attacks followed by a period of persistent fear of having another attack. Physical symptoms include palpitations, shortness of breath, dizziness, trembling or shaking, choking, nausea or abdominal distress, numbness or tingling sensations, chest pain, hot flashes or chills. Cognitive symptoms of panic attacks are depersonalization or derealization, fear of dying, fear of going crazy and fear of doing something uncontrolled. Social Phobia is a persistent fear in situations in which the person is exposed to possible scrutiny by others and fears that he or she may act in a way that will be humiliating or embarrassing. Generalized Anxiety Disorder

(GAD) is diagnosed when there exists unrealistic or excessive anxiety and worry about two or more life circumstances. It is characterized by motor tension, autonomic hyperactivity (e.g., nausea, shortness of breath), and excessive vigilance. Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder (OCD) is characterized by persistent disturbing unwanted thoughts, impulses, or images (obsessions), and repetitive and ritualistic thoughts or actions which the individual feels compelled to perform (compulsions). These thoughts and urges are frequently experienced as intrusive and senseless.

The most commonly seen anxiety disorder in our clinic, as well as in most clinical centers for the treatment of anxiety disorders, is panic disorder. Therefore, we will focus on the treatment of patients with panic disorder. We have found a structured interview (such as the ADIS-R) effective in diagnosing anxiety disorders, particularly panic disorder, in African-Americans. The focus on cognitive and somatic symptoms lessens the risk of misdiagnosis due to a cross-cultural bias.

## Treatment Issues

As we conceptualize it, cognitive-behavioral treatment consists of two components: the basic assumptions underlying the treatment approach and the techniques themselves. There is first a need to develop a trusting relationship. It is sometimes erroneously assumed that the relationship with the client is of secondary importance in behaviorally-based treatment. In fact, trust is especially important in this type of therapy, in which the client is asked to confront feared situations and do new activities.

Early in treatment, it is important to identify a core issue as a framework in which to work. Examples of typical core conflicts for panic sufferers include not wanting to risk change, fear of giving up control, and ambivalence over being independent.

A third conceptual issue is the client's responsibility in treatment. The client needs to take responsibility for his or her role in developing and maintaining the anxiety, and for finding the solution for it. Providing homework assignments is one way to underscore the importance of the client's responsibility for treatment.

Facing the fear is the fourth fundamental goal. The courage required to go forth and enter into feared situations is emphasized because this is the best way to both practice coping skills and learn that high levels of anxiety are uncomfortable but not dangerous. Mastery of the easier situations often lead to increased self-confidence, and this pattern of gradual and steady exposure usually leads to the most permanent gains.

Contracts are used to establish a time-limit for treatment, usually 15-20 sessions. Conveying knowledge about the probable causes and treatments of panic is especially important. The psychoeducation component consists of explaining the development of the panic cycle, based on current research. It appears that a combination of a genetic predisposition and one's underlying personality structure may lead to a particular vulnerability to develop panic disorder (Barlow, 1988). After the initial attack, the vulnerable person begins to anticipate further attacks and to misinterpret bodily sensations such as increased heart rate as the beginning of another attack (Goldstein & Chambless, 1978). This catastrophic misinterpretation leads to further attacks, avoidance of situation and activities associated with attacks, and increasing social restrictions. These results, in turn, generate more stress which increases the likelihood of further panic attacks.

An attempt is also made to normalize the panic response by explaining that panic is an extreme form of the normal response to environmental stress (the "fight or flight" reaction). Coping strategies for controlling panic anxiety include relaxation training and cognition re-evaluation. Cognitive strategies help the patient to identify the irrational thoughts which fuel panic (e.g., "I can't breathe . . . if I don't get out of this store, I will die") and to change them to more reasonable ones (e.g., "I'm uncomfortable but I can wait this feeling out. . . . If I leave now, I'll be more scared to shop here next time"). After making up a goal hierarchy starting from the least and progressing to the most anxiety-producing practice situations, the therapist and the client face these situations together (exposure). Homework assignments encourage the client to practice these skills on a daily basis. Periodic family meetings give those involved in the client's life a chance to learn about the treatment and ways they can help (Friedman, 1991).

Treatment works best when the clinician understands the client and is willing to individualize the treatment to fit his or her needs rather than use a "cookbook" approach. This is especially true in the case of minority clients, since psychological treatment has often been conceptualized and designed with white, upper middle-class people in mind. We have found, for example, that including family members in treatment is especially beneficial in working with our African-American patients who may have strong family ties. In addition a more comprehensive treatment approach which includes a focus on "real life stressors" is necessary to bring about significant

improvement (Friedman, Chernen, Hatch, & Paradis, 1991).

The effectiveness of a cognitive behavioral approach can also be seen in the following case. Ms. C., a 35 year old African-American, sought treatment at the clinic after experiencing panic attacks of increasing frequency for the previous six months. She took a leave of absence from her job because she could not walk more than two blocks from her home and avoided elevators, buses, and subways.

The first session was devoted to explaining the nature of panic and the rationale for cognitive-behavioral treatment. Primary attention was given to learning to accept "feelings of panic," and understanding that these internal physiological sensations were not "harbingers of doom" (Barlow & Cerny, 1988). In the second session a core conflict, that of Ms. C's ambivalence over becoming independent from her family, was delineated. Each subsequent step in the treatment was then examined in light of how progress would impact on Ms. C's relationship to her family. Relaxation training and diaphragmatic breathing was also taught and found helpful. In the third session she developed a set of goals and broke each down into a set of behavioral tasks of increasing difficulty. Her three goals were to resume work, to take public transportation again, and to be able to resume household duties such as grocery shopping. We also identified the irrational, anxiety provoking thoughts surrounding her fears (e.g., "I can't make it all the way to work on the subway, I am a failure"). Ms. C. was then helped to replace these irrational thoughts with rational ones (e.g., "I need to take things one step at a time").

Sessions four through eleven were devoted to facing the feared situations. To take one example, in order to reach the goal of taking public transportation, we started with buses. For two sessions Ms. C and her therapist took them together for increasing distances. With encouragement, she learned to remain in the phobic situation and control her anxious thoughts. The third "bus" session involved the therapist driving behind the bus, and then Ms. C. started taking the bus alone between sessions for greater distances. She reported that the small successes gave her confidence to attempt larger ones. Ms. C. returned to work after the tenth session. The focus of the treatment then shifted to overcoming anxiety in the work situation. The final session (15th) was spent reviewing the course of treatment and anticipating future problems.

## Conclusion

This paper has reviewed recent research in the demographic characteristics, diagnosis and treatment of anxiety disorders in African-Americans. There appears to be no differences in prevalence or symptom profile between African-Americans and whites with panic disorder. However, research has shown that African-Americans are less likely to seek help from mental health professionals and that they are more likely to be misdiagnosed when they do seek help. The use of a structured interview such as the ADIS-R is effective in accurately diagnosing panic disorder in a cross cultural clinical context. There does not appear to be any difference between African-Americans and whites with respect to treatment outcome when panic disorder is quickly and accurately diagnosed, and a comprehensive cognitive-behavioral program focusing on "real life stressors" is provided. Research has shown that 60 -75% of patients treated with this approach experience significant improvement with exposure (Michaelson, 1987). The effectiveness of this approach for anxiety disordered patients who attend medical clinics, or present to other caretakers (Neighbors, 1985) is unknown.

Cognitive-behavioral approaches have been validated in research with white, middle class, and often highly educated patients. It is not that these principles cannot be applied to people from other ethnic/racial and/or socioeconomic backgrounds, but it is quite likely that the treatments may have to be adapted so that these patients can benefit.

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# School Based Cross-Cultural Assessment: Science, Hunch or Stereotype?

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The purpose of this study was to explore how monolingual school psychologists decide on language minority (LM) children referred for psychoeducational evaluation. School psychologists engage in the complex task of assessing the nature of difficulties experienced by children in school and make recommendations for intervention. This task is considerably more complicated and uncertain when the clinician is unfamiliar with the primary language and culture of the child. Assessment instruments that are basic tools in student evaluation are of limited use, and testing aided by an interpreter adds another dimension of unreliability. Despite these difficulties, monolingual clinicians are often called upon to evaluate and recommend placement for language minority children.

Some writers have argued that clinicians rely primarily on intuition and professional judgment when required to diagnose LM children. They contend that cognitive biases and judgment errors are more likely to enter the diagnostic process when reliable test data are unavailable, potentially leading to negative consequences for students (Cummins, 1986; Samuda, 1985).

Literature on the psychoeducational assessment of language minority (LM) students has focused primarily on the inadequacy of widely used assessment procedures and the need to develop reliable alternative methods to identify LM handicapped students (Baca & Cervantes, 1984; Ben-Zeev, 1984; Oakland, 1977; Olmedo, 1981; Plata, 1982; Samuda, 1985; Willig, 1986; Zavala G Mims, 1983). According to most writers, monolingual, monocultural clinicians employing instruments normed on white English dominant children are unlikely to evaluate LM children accurately. These views, however, have been largely based on the disproportional representation of LM children in different categories of special education, rather than on research of the assessment process. Lack of an adequate empirical research base continues to present an obstacle to improved assessment practices (Baca & Cervantes, 1984). The scant research published on this topic suggests that clinicians lack adequate skills for assessing LM students (Cummins, 1984; Figueroa, 1989). Poor understanding of normal second language learning patterns may lead to premature assessment in English language and to incorrect diagnosis (Olmedo, 1981). Basic information such as the relative proficiency in the native language and cultural characteristics of LM children may be ignored in assessment decisions (Barrera Metz, 1988).

## Decision-Making in School Psychology—Sources of Error

In this empirical study, three areas of potential assessment bias were investigated: ethnic stereotypes, confirmation bias, and limited experience with LM populations.

### Stereotypes

Research findings on psychologists' personal beliefs as variables in diagnostic decisions are equivocal. Tomlinson (1981) found that psychologists in England were less influenced by I.Q. scores than by the students' ethnic origin. She reported that while Asian children with I.Q.'s in the 60's were retained in mainstream classes, children of other immigrant groups, particularly from the Caribbean, were more likely to be diagnosed as mildly retarded. In some cases, the ethnic identity of the child was a better predictor of placement than I.Q.

Within the American educational context, personal prejudice has generally not been supported as a factor in the assessment of minority children. Several analogue studies that controlled for the referred students' socio-economic status, physical appearance and sex showed no effect on diagnostic and prognostic decisions (Ysseldyke & Algozzine, 1982). Studies that examined the race of the examiner as a possible source of bias in the test situation did not reveal a significant interaction between the race of the tester and the race of the subject (Heubner & Cummings, 1986; Amira Abramowitz & Gomes Schwartz, 1977).

## Confirmation Bias

The strong relationship between teacher referral and subsequent diagnosis of educational disability observed by Mehan, Hartweck, and Miles (1986) has been reported and confirmed widely in the research literature. Archival studies of placement decisions have found referral to placement ratios as high as 95% (Ysseldyke & Algozzine, 1982). In a related analogue study by the same authors, referral information accounted for 51% of the school personnel recommending special education placement for the child referred (Ysseldyke & Algozzine, 1982).

A study of a district's assessment of 140 referrals during the course of one year suggested significant confirmation bias (Mehan et al., 1986). School psychologists often sought to validate the referral behavior and administered batteries of tests until disability was found. A similar finding was reported by Smith (1982) on her naturalistic inquiry of placement policies in a Colorado school district.

The tendency to overidentify students as entitled to special education services is thought to be a major weakness in current diagnostic and placement practices (Davis & Shepard, 1983). Some authors believe that overidentification may be rooted in the information processing strategies of the clinicians rather than in external factors; they suggest that school psychologists often fail to follow an objective hypothesis testing procedure leading to diagnosis (O'Reilly, Northcraft, & Sabers, 1989). Teacher referral, in particular, is thought to unduly bias assessment decisions.

In a study involving evaluation, a simulated report of a child referred for either "learning disabilities" or "gifted" placement was presented to two groups of clinicians. The researchers found that the stated reason for evaluation significantly biased the placement decisions made by the school psychologists (O'Reilly et al., 1989). A counterpoint to these studies was described by Cummings, Huebner, and McLeskey (1986); their analogue study did not elicit agreement with teacher referral statements.

## Limited Experience with LM Students

Language minority children often appear deviant since they tend to exhibit unfamiliar behavior patterns or have adjustment difficulties in school. In a regular English school program, the immigrant language minority child may feel socially isolated and frustrated by academic demands made in a language he/she does not fully understand. In this context, the different child is often perceived as a child with deficits since his/her native language and culture may be considered inferior and deficient (Rosado, 1986). Where belief that other cultures and languages are inferior, the educational establishment may contribute to the minority child's sense of low self-esteem and academic incompetence (Burstyn, 1985; Cummins, 1986; Manni, Winikur, & Keller, 1984). The tendency to equate "difference" in language use and customs with "deficits" in expected school behavior and performance leads to the initial tagging of the LM child as deviant.

It is likely that monolingual clinicians misinterpret the pattern of normal second language acquisition as a disability in language processing (Cummins, 1984; Willig, 1986). This confusion may be prevalent when little information is available on the student's linguistic background and home language use. Indeed, many of the temporary manifestations of second language learning mimic patterns of more permanent learning difficulties (Cummins, 1984; Garcia & Yates, 1986).

## The Study

The study described here investigted the potential biasing effects of the conditions described above.

## Method

Clinicians with varying length of experience and training as school psychologists and graduate students in the same field were asked to diagnose and make educational placement recommendations for a female LM child. The subjects were presented with identical psychological reports that varied systematically in two ways: 1) Under the condition of ethnicity, the child was described as either a) Chinese or b) Puerto Rican; 2) Under the condition of teacher referral, the student was described as a) likely to be better served in special education, or b) adjusting to a new language and culture in an unremarkable way.

The 160 participating subjects were school psychologists and advanced graduate students in school psychology. All subjects participated voluntarily, and represented a wide spectrum of students and practitioners. Nineteen training institutions trained this study's participants. The sample was a widely varied group that included all the accredited school psychology training programs in the New York City metropolitan area, and a small percentage of programs from other parts of the country.

Level of experience in the field of school psychology was measured, as well as years of experience in special education. The respondents' distribution by experience in school psychology ranged from 0 to 32 years. While there was substantial overlap between years of work experience in special education and

years of work experience in school psychology, these figures were not identical. The relationship between these two yielded a Pearson correlation coefficient of $p = .55$.

Most subjects, 90% of the sample, listed English as their native tongue; 10% named a language other than English. Spanish accounted for 5% and the remaining 5% was distributed among Chinese, French, German, Greek, Italian, Maltese, and Russian.

Subjects were asked to read a psychological report on a hypothetical female junior high school LM student. The report contained some contradictory information and presented ambiguous test performance data. The ambiguity of the information presented was deliberately planned to maximize clinicians' reliance on personal impressions rather than well established diagnostic criteria. In the present study, ambiguity was enhanced by providing a detailed description of cognitive functioning as evaluated with the WISC-R, including IQ scores, and strong caution about the likely unreliable nature of the scores obtained.

The student's native language and ethnicity were systematically manipulated so that four conditions were presented.

Condition 1: Chinese student who is not recommended by her teacher for special education placement.

Condition 2: Chinese student who is recommended by her teacher for special education placement.

Condition 3: Puerto Rican student who is not recommended by her teacher for special education placement.

Condition 4: Puerto Rican student who is recommended by her teacher for special education placement.

## Results

### Entitlement Decision

The entitlement decision was regressed on a combination of categorical and continuous independent variables. Teacher statements about the child's adjustment in class, the child's ethnicity, and the length of clinicians' work experience were not found to be significantly related to decisions on eligibility to special education. These decisions, however, varied considerably in the sample as 66% (n=95) of the subjects found the child to be entitled, and 34% (n=49) decided that the child did not belong in special education. It seems that clinical diagnostic decision making did not rely significantly on the previously identified biases, but rather utilized other decision strategies or schemas.

### Placement Decisions

In the data analysis incorporating the second dependent variable—placement in educational settings—multiple regression analysis was used. These educational settings ranged from a mainstream class, i.e., no support, to a self-contained class composed of a special educator and six children. The latter class is typically offered to very disturbed or neurologically impaired students. Placement options were presented as available in both English monolingual and bilingual classes.

In the stepwise multiple regression analysis Teacher Statement was the only variable selected to enter the equation. The $F$ ratio for this model was significant ($F=3.77$, $p<.05$) and the coefficient of determination ($R^2= .026$) indicated that the nature of the teacher's statement accounted for a small, but significant level of variance (2.6%) in placement decisions.

The remaining variables: child's ethnicity, length of experience, and level of training, did not seem to explain variance in the placement options chosen by subjects in the study. On the basis of these findings, the initial teacher statement influenced the placement option chosen by the clinician. While teacher statement did not seem to have a direct effect on entitlement, it did seem to play a more subtle role in the estimation of how severe was the child's handicapping condition. The small size of the measured effect contrasts with the results reported by Ysseldyke and his colleagues (1982) and O'Reilly, Northcraft, and Sabers (1989) in which teacher referral played a more prominent role on decision outcome.

Clinicians with more years of work experience in special education settings were more likely to make placement recommendations consistent with the information that was first available to them. Multiple regression analysis yielded a significant interaction between the two variables ($R^2=.067$, $F=3.3$, $R^2$ Change=.039, $F$ Change=5.77, $p<.018$), thus establishing the presence of a relationship. The confirmation bias predicts that initial impressions would lead to a premature determination of severity of handicap which would be resistant to change as new information is presented. Based on the empirical data obtained here, this decision making strategy seems more characteristic of experienced clinicians than it is for graduate students and beginning school psychologists.

Training level was found to attenuate the effect of experience on placement decisions regarding children of different ethnicities. Multiple regression analysis, used to examine the interaction effect between student ethnicity and level of training on placement decisions, yielded a significant score ($R^2$=.033, F=1.56, $R^2$ Change=.033, F Change=4.71, p=.032). In order to ascertain the nature of the interaction, level of training and placement options chosen were cross tabulated separately for each student by ethnicity. These tests showed that clinicians with the lowest levels of training were more likely to place the Chinese student in mainstream education. When the child was described as Puerto Rican no such pattern of placement was found. The most significant aspect of this finding may be that school psychologists with lower levels of training tend to see the Chinese student as non-handicapped, thus possibly underestimating pathology when working with children of Asian origin. Level of training did not affect placement recommendations when the child was described as Puerto Rican.

Bilingual school psychologists comprised 10% of the total sample (N=16). In the monolingual population, the nature of the teacher statement was significantly related to the placement option chosen for the child. A positive correlational value of .16 (p=.027, N=144) suggested that placement in special education was positively influenced by the teacher's first statement regarding the hypothetical child. Bilingual school psychologists did not show this pattern of response; they were less likely to place students in concert with the teacher's initial statements (r=-.042, p=.44).

Clinicians' decisions on the entitlement status of the stimulus student may be further clarified by examining the rationale for their choices. Asked to cite factors that supported their decisions, subjects listed a wide variety of particulars found in the psychological report. Grouped into several categories, these variables proved to be correlated with decision outcome. Deciding whether the child was handicapped or not depended largely on which aspects of the report were most significant to the clinician. Thus focus on acculturation factors, lack of neurological damage indicators and relatively healthy emotional functioning were strongly associated with diagnosis of not-handicapped.

Clinicians who focused on linguistic delays, including native language, academic delays, concrete reasoning, and IQ test score patterns, were very likely to find the child handicapped and therefore entitled to special education. Decisions on entitlement may have been guided by the clinicians' conceptualization of pathology and presence or absence of confirmatory evidence found in the report. These factors appear to be major organizing schemas for decision making, at least at the conscious level. Sensitivity to acculturation factors, for instance, may have predictive value in the direction of not finding handicap in a LM child. Conversely, focus on delayed linguistic functioning may lead to greater tendency to diagnose a child as handicapped. The clinicians' decisions on entitlement seem to have been guided by the presence or absence of critical elements in the report. It may be argued that decisions were largely determined by whether the subjects found confirming evidence of pathology or not on a small number of domains. In order to investigate the contribution of these domains to the decision on entitlement, a multiple regression analysis test was executed; this regression test yielded the values in Table 1.

Multiple regression results may be interpreted as a model that explains a substantial degree of vari-

## Table 1

### Regression of Diagnostic Variables on Entitlement Decision

| Variables | B | Beta | T | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maladjustment | .06 | .04 | .60 | .56 |
| IQ Test Score Pattern | -.32 | -.32 | -4.93 | .0001 |
| Concrete Reasoning | -.23 | -.19 | -.299 | .003 |
| No Emotional Dysfunction | .21 | .072 | 1.21 | .23 |
| Linguistic Delays | -.25 | -.26 | -3.96 | .0001 |
| Academic Delays | -.13 | -.13 | -1.97 | .05 |
| Acculturation | .16 | .15 | 2.34 | .02 |
| No Neurological Damage | .21 | .19 | 2.82 | .006 |

$R^2$ = .53
Adj. $R^2$ = .51
F = 19.38
p < .0001

ance on psychodiagnostic decision-making when the referred child is a member of a linguistic minority group. The variables identified here seem to be significant elements in the organization of data and subsequent decision outcome.

## Discussion

The combination of teacher referral statement with experience showed a significant but small degree of association, but teacher statement and child ethnicity were not significantly related. The relative contribution of training to placement decisions was shown to vary with the ethnicity of the presented child; a tendency to underidentify the Chinese child was noted among the clinicians with least training. Bilingual clinicians showed a distinct pattern of decision making; these clinicians were less likely to agree with the teacher referral statement than their monolingual counterparts.

It was expected, on the basis of prior research, that school psychologists would first entertain the hypothesis presented by the teacher and then seek confirmatory data in the report, while ignoring contradictory evidence. The results obtained here give limited credence to the presence of this bias in the decision making process, but its level of magnitude is far less dramatic than what others have reported. In fact, when presented with a dichotomous decision choice, i.e., "is the child handicapped or not," subjects decided with little consideration for teacher opinion. When, however, subjects were asked to make placement recommendations, teacher statements did influence clinicians' decisions. Clinicians tended to make placement recommendations that were consistent with the teacher's view. It should be noted that although this tendency was statistically significant, it was of relatively small magnitude.

On the basis of these results it may be argued that while school psychologists were careful not to be swayed by teachers' views in regard to diagnosis, they were more likely to be influenced on the issue of educational placement and intervention. The first item in the report was not an anchoring statement that organized subsequent thinking on the assessment process; instead the same statement was seen as another piece of corroborating evidence that could not be ignored. From this point of view, clinicians acted largely as independent decision makers who drew mainly on their own conceptualizations rather than on the initial informant's impression and recommendation.

It is interesting to note that bilingual clinicians were even more self-reliant in their decision making strategies. They arrived at decision outcomes that were not significantly related to teacher statements under either of the two conditions: entitlement or placement. This lack of relationship between teacher impressions and clinician choice may suggest a conscious effort made by bilingual school psychologists to ignore teacher views in their decisions regarding LM children.

The extent to which clinicians used teacher statements in decision making may be a function of the value they ascribed to such information. Thus the perceived reliability of teacher judgments may vary according to how credible and objective the teacher is believed to be. For the majority of the bilingual sample, teacher statements did not affect decision outcomes, perhaps an indication that these clinicians do not perceive the instructors as reliable informants. Monolingual school psychologists, as a group, were more likely to value the teachers' impressions and use that information in formulating placement decisions.

Another line of inquiry considered the effect of exposure to handicap as possibly biasing decision making in the direction of overinclusion. This hypothesis was not supported by the data as experience alone was not significantly related to any specific outcome. This finding was consistent with prior research that pointed to the relative irrelevance of experience in diagnostic decisions (Garb, 1989).

The related research question that probed the interaction between experience and teacher statement, however, yielded a significant result. Greater agreement with teacher impressions increased with longer tenure in special education settings. This suggests that those clinicians with longer work history in special education settings are more likely to see teachers as reliable informants. Perhaps many of these school psychologists identify more closely with instructors since many of them were teachers before they began psychological training.

The role of training in the decision process had significant effect only in relation to the diagnosis of the Chinese child. While decisions regarding the Puerto Rican child showed no discernible pattern, diagnosis of the Chinese student varied with levels of training. Clinicians with lower levels of training were more likely to underidentify the Chinese student as handicapped. Since the case report was purposefully ambiguous, accuracy of judgment determination could not be evaluated or inferred. Relative reluctance to diagnose the Chinese child as handicapped among less trained clinicians in this study may reflect these subjects' greater reliance on popular stereotypes.

Results of this study indicate that school psychologists were deliberate in their decisions, weighing the evidence against a number of diagnostic indi-

cators, while searching for specific information to validate their hypotheses. Most clinicians reached a decision once they uncovered critically diagnostic items. For example, a discrepancy reported between Verbal and Performance IQ was perceived by many to be an identifier of learning disability. Almost equally predictive was the information regarding limited acculturation. This item, in contrast, was interpreted by others as evidence of no handicap. Rather than limiting themselves to the context of the experiment, subjects drew upon their training and experience in order to choose diagnoses and recommendations.

The responses registered here suggest an active and engaged approach; clinicians searched for specific diagnostic information in the report, and evaluated its relative value vis a vis their understanding of LM children's adjustment to school. This view is consistent with Messick's (1983) remark that in each instance of choice, value judgments and individual priorities are the main determinants. Decision making in school psychology may be guided by personal models of practice based on how clinicians selectively understand each diagnostic datum.

The process by which clinicians develop criteria for evaluating the diagnosticity of data remains a promising field of research. Diagnostic and placement decisions involve the integration of different types of information from a wide variety of sources. The complexity of this process is augmented by the questionable nature of various data sources. Despite the ambiguity and uncertainty, biased processes do not seem to predominate in school psychology.

Future research should seek to identify the overt and covert idiosyncratic theories of practice that guide decision making. Diagnostic items play a central role in this process since clinicians focus on a restricted number of manifestations. Studies comparing clinicians' beliefs about practice with their decisions are likely to further elucidate this area of research.

Assessment of LM children remains a troublesome challenge to the profession; these children continue to be overrepresented in special education classes and programs. Continued research on this decision making situation is necessary to improve training in school psychology, and to better serve the growing LM population.

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# Working the Boundaries: Cultural Issues in Therapy With Incarcerated Sex Offenders

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I am a white, female, socialist feminist, and a counseling psychologist. I work in a facility whose institutional identity is preencounter white, authoritarian, individualistic and patriarchal. Not coincidentally, it is a prison/treatment center for sexual offenders. Clearly there are conflicts between my theoretical and personal commitments and those of the institution.

The title of my presentation, Working the Boundaries, refers to the productive use of experienced tensions, conflicts and differences. I want to start exploring the meaning of this view by locating my position in relation to the institution as a whole. As a counseling psychologist, I regard the entire institution as an available domain for intervention on different levels. I work cross-culturally on three levels: 1) individually, and in group, as a therapist with inmates; 2) with the institutional administration as a psychological consultant, and with other members of the institution's staff, including secretaries, officers, and maintenance workers; and 3) developing myself as a psychologist is cross-cultural work because I participate in several largely separate (based on disciplinary boundaries) areas of research and theory.

When I identify these as cross-cultural aspects of work, I'm using the term culture in two different ways. Johnson (1982) uses Triandis's (1976) definition of ". . . subjective culture as a group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment. It includes associations, attitudes, beliefs, concepts, evaluations, expectations, memories, opinions, role perceptions, stereotypes, and values" (p. 12). Using this definition, incarcerated sexual offenders are a subjective cultural group. The explication of their beliefs constitutes the first, and most fundamental, task of treatment.

To quickly orient you to the pathology of sexual offenders, I will list some key characterics.

- They associate feelings of vulnerability with danger, and pain with anger.
- Their attitudes usually involve experiencing themselves as the victims of others.
- Their concepts of sexuality are warped.
- They evaluate the behavior of others are "hypersexualized."
- They have unrealistic expectations of their own sexual performance which cause them to feel inadequate and incompetent.
- Their role perceptions, values and stereotypes regarding women are distorted.
- They attempt to regain a sense of control and mastery through the actualization of fantasied opinions about how "real men" should act and feel.

Unlike most forms of psychotherapeutic treatment, my role as a change agent does not involve keeping my values and beliefs about their values and beliefs private. Instead, the contrast between my moral values and commitments and theirs are open, and identified. I stand in clear opposition to how they lived, and what they believe, and they know this. They realize that I regard the cultural group of sexual offenders as highly deviant. I would also add, that without this particular boundary, I believe treatment could not take place.

I want to describe more about the subjective culture and values of the sexual offenders themselves through a description of EC, a men who is leaving jail after 9 years.

At 21 years of age, EC was convicted on two counts of aggravated sexual assault, or rape, of an unknown 24 year old white female, and was sentenced to 15 years. He is the second oldest child in a family of three children. He was born in Puerto Rico, and moved when he was four to Newark. He lived with his parents, grandparents (3), uncles, aunts, some cousins, and others affiliated with the family. The family ran drugs, guns, and numbers. Violence was common in this family; EC's eye was permanently dislocated at the age of 8 from a beating by his stepfather. He recalls his subsequent hospitalization for a week as a respite from home. He began carrying a gun at 13, fathered his daughter at 14, and at 15

married and began trafficking drugs. By this age, he recalls thinking that women were untrustworthy and dangerous, while being a man was to need no one, and being safe only came if you were as dangerous and unpredictable as possible. Power over others was the only way to be safe, and physical power was the most important kind of strength. At 19, he discovered that his uncle had tried to rape his wife. He shot his uncle, almost killing him, and beat his wife, on the assumption that she had been seductive toward his uncle. In his family, this event marked his emergence as an adult male. His subsequent assault was part and parcel of the values he had held for years. Other assaults followed, on Hispanic and Black women. The rapes represented the ultimate power, and excitement, at least as a fantasy. Once the actual assault began, however, he equivocated, felt guilty, and could not have an erection. This caused him to question his masculinity and to engage in more and more violent fantasies of dominating his next victim, thus perpetuating the assaults.

The beliefs that people are evil, women are dangerous, and sex gives power through domination are central to the subjective culture of sexual offenders. An excessive desire for sex, hypersensitivity to rejection and rage all work to produce the distorted thinking necessary for a sexual offender to eroticize an act of violence, imagining it as either consensual, or at least not unpleasant for the victim. In the case of EC, and many others, identification with the aggressors of childhood caused him to become even more aggressive, controlling, isolated, and numb in a futile attempt at mastery over childhood trauma.

Imagine, then, what a shock jail is to people with these kinds of values. A person accustomed to tyrannizing and controlling others as an adult now becomes controlled by others, as they once were by other controlling adults. Jail is also a glass house. Efforts to exploit others invariably surface. The desire to live secretively, which is the way that most sexual crimes are committed, is thwarted, because of the physical reality of the institution, and the psychological reality that others won't let you. Independence and autonomy are impossible, almost half the therapists are female, as well as many of the officers and staff, almost everyone else is in a position of authority over and control of you, and the only sexual outlets available are homosexual sex or masturbation. This is the context in which sexual offenders who are incarcerated must adapt. Becoming an inmate, then, means a fundamental reordering of one's sense of identity, and this to me signals the beginning of the possibility of psychotherapeutic change. Identifying himself as an inmate means beginning to participate in the social order of the jail itself. This involves learning the norms of how to obtain food, housing, work assignments, access to social workers and therapists, negotiating with people outside the prison as well as interacting with a wide range of authorities in the prison in order to deal with such phenomena as money, visits, calculation of sentences, and ultimately, the possibility of parole. Just like in other contexts, failure to adhere to the role of the inmate in the culture of the jail results in further sanctions, including the accumulation of additional time, reductions of privileges, or eventually being transferred to another facility. So prison is not a uniform context, but rather a multiply layered, complex and responsive organizational structure.

Internalization of the identity "inmate" functions to open up the possibility of acknowledging himself as a sexual offender. Without this acknowledgment, a man can remain simply an inmate who is in denial of the commission of his crimes. When one views sexual offenders from an addictive perspective, sexual offenders are always sex offenders, whether in or out of jail. This context alone negates the many ways the offender maintained a veil of secrecy over his behavior, values and membership in the deviant subjective culture of sexual aggression.

Because of the nature of the sexual offender's pathological need for control and power, becoming a client in psychological treatment is even more disturbing and disorienting. To a greater extent than is the case with most other forms of therapy, however, his self-descriptions and accounts of the reasons for his own behavior are open to significant challenges; a different weight is given to the accounts of others about the inmate than is usually the case because of his tendency to distort and minimize. We identify pervasive failures to appropriately take account of the experiences others have in interactions with them as a consistent feature of a sexual offender's pathology that will be manifest and available for identification and discussion. Likewise, demonstration of responsible, caring and insightful behavior accrues status and respect. This means an inmate must use these new ways of behaving with other group members, therapists, friends, officers, administrators and family members in order to regain some of the social status he has lost through becoming an inmate and sex offender. More than these forms of common, appropriate social functioning, offenders must begin to expose themselves to others through the explorations of various aspects of their identity in group therapy.

In treatment, I locate the racial identity attitudes of inmates in several ways. I explore what the man says he feels and believes about himself, the identity of his victim, and the social relationships he has while incarcerated with people in and outside of the institution. One of the main reasons I cannot rely exclusively on the claims made by an inmate about his

beliefs has to do with a lack of anonymity regarding my own identity. Inmates attempt to frame the presentations of their values so as to minimize conflicts in values with me. For example, they know that I live with a Black man and that we have two children, learning the first fact through an unfortunate incident necessitating his appearance at the jail, and the second through two pregnancies during the six years I have worked there. They infer other aspects of my racial identity attitudes from these facts, often erroneously. In their eyes, pretty uniformly, these facts at least initially mean: I am "about" Black men; I am a good therapist to seek out because of these facts suggest that I dislike or denigrate White men; I am a political radical and/or potential advocate for them; or maybe I just made a big mistake of "love."

In this regard, I'm saying that these people usually hold relatively immature and unsophisticated views of race, their own racial identity and mine. This is in keeping with their other primitive psychosocial functioning which hopefully changes and develops through therapy. So, regardless of what they initially claim, I'm saying ours is usually a crossed dyad (Helms, 1990). I'm saying, however, something that most cross-cultural practitioners do not say. I believe that for sexual offenders, preencounter and contact racial identity attitudes are dysfunctional, because of the contributing role of such values to the systematic failure of sexual offenders to live in harmony with others.

It also appears that, in addition to having preencounter attitudes, many sexual offenders, despite their varying ethnicities, hold traditionally white, middle-class values: a belief in mastery over nature, a future time orientation, doing-oriented activities, and individualized relationships. For example, WD was arrested at 23, after several sexual assaults, both as a juvenile and as an adult. All assaults involved small, blonde, white large-breasted women. He is Puerto Rican, short and covered with the muscles of a serious bodybuilder. When I first began working with him, he joked with me about the possibility that I could dye my hair blonde. His identification of me as a possible sex object was in keeping with his sexual offender dynamics of viewing all interactions with women in terms of domination, control and sexuality.

Over the last three years, however, WD has come to view me in more complex, difficult and conflictual ways. Recently we had a confrontation in a public place; I asserted my authority by questioning him, he responded with bravado, I rebuffed him, and he became angry. Until he became angry, the interactions were on the level of informal teasing. He found my behavior as an authority figure disrespectful of his masculinity; when he was then later teased by a weaker, vulnerable male about his sexuality, WD became enraged and assaulted him. He of course then incurred additional time and trouble with the prison authorities. When he got out of lock-up and came back to group after four months, he related that the experience had made him determined to change his ways. He reported this in group. Individually, he met with me and abruptly asked me about my ethnic background. When I asked him why he was bringing this up now, he asked me if I was a "redbone", (a light-skinned Black) and if I knew what that was. I began to ask him another question when he cut me off, and declared that whether I was actually a redbone or not, he felt better imagining that I was. I identify this as a turning point in our therapeutic relationship, indicating symbolically that he has accepted the possibility of working with me on the basis of a perceived connection and communality.

All of the therapy groups are heterogeneously mixed, so that there are men of different ages, sexual orientations and ethnicities. I use the framework of cross-cultural encounters in order to foster tolerance for difference among the inmates. But I also use it as a way of exploring differences and similarities. I try to get the inmates to use these constructs to locate themselves in relation to, and in interdependence with, others.

A multicultural perspective in group poses a direct challenge to the machismo, possessive individualistic values by establishing a press for interdependence, sharing, and connection. I have discovered over the years a common cultural icon shared by the sexual offenders, regardless of ethnic cultural background, of "real" masculinity: the Marlboro man. They see him as an example of true autonomy, strength and manliness, needing no one, relying on no one, connecting to no one. It is my belief that this attitude dominates the thinking and behavior of offenders, and in a sense contributes to their ability to commit sexual offenses against others. I identify this attitude as the antithesis of empathy.

Difference, then, beyond structural ethnic characteristics, is not understood as the delineation of fixed, real lines of distinction between people, but as a decision to reject connections. Because I believe that a lack of tolerance for others as well as an overt disregard for them contributes to the deviant behavior of sexual offenders, I make the commitment to altering this intolerance through immersion in the chaotic rush of dynamic, often frustrating, but usually honest, interactions with others.

One of the ways that I try to achieve a greater degree of tolerance for others involves direct, didactic teaching. I ask the inmates to take any point they choose, during a discussion of a relatively neutral topic, and to articulate the pros and cons, or their

side and an opposing side. I ask them to try to articulate, for example, my experience of them, or someone else's experience of them. In this regard, if these sexual psychopaths are unable to actually obtain a conscience per se, they can at least obtain a certain accuracy regarding the experiences of others. They report that acting like they can understand the feelings of others tends, over time, to make them experience others differently. I eventually suggest to them that they have a range of responses and reactions available to them at all times, and the decision to present the most negativistic, reductionistic and singular of their available responses is why they are still stuck in jail talking to the rest of their therapy group, and me.

On an institutional level, I work with administrators, custody officers, and other psychology staff to become more tolerant of cultural diversity. This work is largely reactive, in response to the emergence of direct conflicts ranging from formal charges of discrimination in the workplace to efforts on the part of the inmates to organize cultural events such as Kwanza celebrations and groups like the African Organizing Committee. All these aspects of the institution have been experienced as significant threats to the administrators of the jail at one time or another. In each of these cases I was asked by the administrators to help cope with and interpret the meaning of these proposals. Each "threat" disturbed the administrators, who have worked to develop what they see as a "neutral," value-free administration. Accommodation of these challenges has caused reverberations and adjustments within the institution's official "image." Each of these was resolved through the slow, but steady processes of institutional change (e.g., much paperwork, bureaucratic committee meetings, several months of consistent, formal but polite pressure and eventual grudging compliance with lots of caveats). Codification of these changes, however reluctantly made, has meant that these events themselves are now a formative part of the institution's structure.

There is an unfortunate tendency on the part of most people to accept their interpretations of reality as accurate and undistorted. This tendency is even more problematic in the case of sexual offenders, because of their capacity for acting out against others on their perceptions. The problems of engaging in psychotherapy with people who are deeply invested in their systematically distorted thinking are many. One would think the experiences of being arrested, taken to trial, being convicted and sent to jail would produce some level of doubt regarding their values and actions. Most still manage to excuse their assaultive behavior through a series of rationalizations and justifications. Their world views, or root metaphors, regarding masculinity, femininity, sexual behavior, and interpersonal relationships form the basis of what I have called the subjective culture of the sexual offender. Therapeutic change only occurs when these closely held, deeply influential values are altered.

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# The Role of Multicultural Variables In Assessing and Counseling the HIV-Infected Client

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Psychosocial issues associated with HIV disease increasingly are recognized as the magnitude of this crisis has grown. The complex issues that HIV-infected persons cope with include stigma, changes in social support, loss of health, and in many cases, exposure of lifestyle around sexuality and/or drug use. In the United States, AIDS has been viewed in social, cultural, and political terms because of the history of the disease and the resultant demographics. An examination of AIDS cases highlights the complex societal issues that have arisen. For example, groups that have historically faced societal discrimination have been disproportionately affected. Of cases to date, 59% resulted from male homosexual/bisexual contact, 22% from intravenous drug use, and 7% from male homosexual/bisexual and IV drug use (CDC, 1991). In terms of race, African-Americans and Latinos have comprised 44% of male cases and 80% of women (and 80% of pediatric cases).

These statistics underscore the role that gender, sexual orientation, race, and social class play in this crisis. Therefore, it is essential to address multicultural issues in both HIV prevention and care. The purpose of this paper is threefold. First, an overview of the literature on multicultural issues of HIV will be discussed with an emphasis on changing demographics. Second, an examination of institutional response to these multicultural issues will be presented. Finally, I will examine how counseling interventions with HIV-infected clients are enhanced by recognizing and addressing multicultural issues.

## History of HIV Disease in The United States

The role gender, race, and social class have played can be understood by examining the history of the AIDS epidemic in the United States. When in the early 1980's a number of gay men experienced immune dysfunction, many believed these men were doing something "different" to cause this disease (Shilts, 1987). This led many Americans to see themselves as unaffected by this disease and allowed a backlash of homophobia to occur. AIDS increasingly became associated with two major sources of stigma: an incurable and progressive disease associated with death, and transmission by already stigmatized groups (Herek & Glunt, 1988).

In the next phase of the AIDS crisis, the focus turned to Africans, as well as Haitians, as the source of AIDS (Dalton, 1989; Williams, 1986). This focus on a racial group introduced blame and racial distrust. Additionally, whereas the first wave of HIV disease primarily affected gay men, the second wave, which included many IV drug users, disproportionately affected Blacks/African-Americans and Latinos. This overview highlights how multicultural issues have become enmeshed in this disease.

The following clinical vignettes will highlight the role of multicultural issues in clients' responses to HIV disease.

### Thomas

Thomas is a 35-year-old gay, white HIV-infected man who is an attorney and who is heavily involved in gay-related activist issues. Since learning of his HIV status, Tom reordered his priorities and was able to decrease his work hours to maintain his health, spend more time with his companion and friends, and devote himself to writing his book which he sees as his "legacy."

### Marcus

Marcus, a 23-year-old African-American man infected through heterosexual contact, has not told anyone of his status. He now avoids close relationships and is isolated because he knows no other HIV-infected persons. Marcus struggles financially as he has no diploma and only part-time work. He won't seek treatment as he fears being labeled "gay" at the clinic. Marcus states that all he wants is "a good job, a nice wife, and a family." He despairs that at most, he will be lucky if he gets the job.

### Sarah

Sarah, a 25-year-old Latina woman, lives in a shelter with her infant daughter. Both are HIV-infected as a result of Sarah's IV drug use. Sarah was

turned down for experimental drug trials because she did not fit the research protocol based on symptoms common to men. Her most pressing concerns are food, housing, and worry about who will care for her child if she dies.

## Overview of Literature on Social Factors

Although each of these clients has experienced significant changes in their lives, the impact of HIV on many aspects of their lives differs. While it is important to understand the interrelated social factors that influence exposure to HIV (Kaplan, Johnson, Bailey, & Simon, 1987), it is also important to view these same factors as influencing how HIV affects infected persons' lives. A review of the literature on gender, race, and social class will illuminate some of these differences.

## Gender and Sexual Orientation

*Gay/Bisexual Men.* Gender and sexual orientation have been major defining variables in HIV disease in the United States. Nearly all early cases involved gay/bisexual men. As most gay men became infected as a result of sexual behaviors (rather than IV drug use), many must contend with homophobic reactions from others as well as their own internalized homophobia. Feelings that were previously resolved about sexual orientation are often recapitulated. Resolution of these feelings has been referred to as coming out as a PWA (Nichols, 1986).

The gay community has also experienced major losses as a result of this epidemic. AIDS-related bereavement has had a major impact on social support systems of many gay men. For example, a study conducted in New York City found that 27% of the sample had lost a lover or close friend to AIDS and many had suffered multiple losses (Martin, 1988). In response to these losses, the gay community has launched a political and activist attack that has provided access to medical and psychosocial services.

*Heterosexual Men.* Gender issues also play a significant role for HIV-infected heterosexual men. However, there is a dearth of research on these men, other than those who are IV drug users or hemophiliacs. Based on my clinical work, most report feeling isolated as they do not know other HIV-infected persons. They frequently express concern that they will be labeled as "gay" or as "IV drug users" if others discover their HIV status. For these reasons, they may be reluctant to seek support services, such as groups, and in many cases, are unwilling or uncomfortable seeking treatment at clinics serving a primarily gay clientele.

*Women.* As a group, women represent the fastest category of new HIV cases in this country. At present, over 30% of new cases are women with most becoming infected as a result of their partner's or their own IV drug use. It is difficult to understand the issues that most HIV-infected women face without examining the impact of race, racism, social class, and poverty (Bell, 1989). The majority of HIV-infected women in our country are African-American or Latina (Bell, 1989; CDC, 1991; Karan, 1989; Mitchell, 1989). Research has suggested that nearly 90% have dependent children (Levine & Dubler, 1990) and, in most cases, are single parents. Because of difficulties coping with a debilitating health problem, single parenthood, and minority racial status, most of these women also struggle with poverty.

HIV-infected women face issues that most seropositive men do not such as coping with dependent children, concern and guilt about an HIV-infected child as well as physically caring for that child, and concern about who will care for their children if they die (Mitchell, 1989; Zuckerman & Gordon, 1988). These challenges occur while the woman is struggling with the physical and emotional effects of her own illness. Women also face greater difficulties obtaining and maintaining treatment and support services. For example, many clinics offering HIV services evolved from clinics serving gay clients. Therefore, they may not offer services such as childcare so women can seek services, support groups for women, and housing allowing dependents. Until recently, women were uniformly excluded from most drug trials as their HIV symptoms did not match the CDC definition of AIDS.

Interestingly, much of the literature on HIV-infected women has focused on childbearing, rather than on the impact of HIV on the woman herself (Levine & Dubler, 1990). Dr. James Curran, who heads the CDC AIDS program, commented: "Someone who understands the disease and is logical will not want to be pregnant and will consider the test results when making family planning decisions" (*CDC AIDS Weekly*, 1988, p. 2). What this statement ignores are the values and norms that direct women's sexual and reproductive lives as well as the social, economic, and cultural forces that contribute to these norms (Levine & Dubler, 1990).

To understand these forces, a more complex view of the role of childbearing in women's lives is important. For many, motherhood may provide one of the few avenues for self-definition, esteem, and a link to the future. Some have speculated that social class and ethnicity play an important role in understanding this as these cultural issues in part define attitudes about childbearing (Levine & Dubler,

1990). Finally, having a child is viewed by many HIV-infected women as a powerful incentive to make a commitment to the future.

## Race/Ethnicity

Blacks and Latinos are overrepresented in AIDS cases in the United States in all categories. A number of factors appear to contribute to these statistics. For example, some speculate that poverty, alienation, and boredom may be related to the initiation and maintenance of drug use (Friedman, Des Jarlais, & Sterk, 1990). Others suggest that Black and Latino communities differ from gay communities (which provided the model for responsiveness to HIV) in terms of social class and access to resources relevant to both prevention and treatment (Freudenberg, Lee, & Silver, 1989). The interplay of race and gender for HIV-infected women has been discussed. Discussion will therefore focus on two additional issues relevant to race: the role of race in HIV-infected gay/bisexual men's response to their disease; and the significance of being HIV-infected in the hierarchy of health and social issues that many African-American and Latino persons face.

Gay and bisexual men frequently divide into subgroups along racial lines (Williams, 1986). This may result from differences in the acceptance of a gay lifestyle in an individual's subculture (Dalton, 1989; Williams, 1986) as well as from social class differences (De La Cancela, 1989; Freudenberg, et al. 1989). Some speculate that the lack of identification that many Black and Latino men have with the gay community may be due to their culture's lack of acceptance of a gay lifestyle, their own level of self-awareness in the coming out process, and the community of their primary identification (e.g., Latino or gay) (Morales, 1990).

The second area highlighting the role of race in HIV work is the relative importance of the client's disease in the context of his or her entire life situation. Many ethnic minorities who are HIV-infected are also struggling with poverty, unemployment, other health problems, lack of health insurance, and lack of housing (Cohen, Hauer, Wofsy, 1989). A disease that may cause death in the distant future of 5 to 10 years may not seem as urgent as these other issues intruding on the here and now.

## Social Class

The final cultural variable to be examined is that of social class. As the demographics of AIDS shifts from gay, primarily white men to increasingly becoming identified with inner-city populations, some predict that, "understanding and patience are going to dwindle across the political spectrum, to be replaced by animosity and/or indifference" (Murray, 1988, p. 22). Many of these inner city persons live at or near the poverty level and are already experiencing the alienation and neglect that often accompany poverty. Therefore, social class, and specifically poverty, are important in understanding responses to AIDS.

Few studies have looked specifically at the impact of social class (or income) on HIV-antibody status or on responses to HIV. One study, which found an association between low income and HIV infection in men, explained this in terms of research linking poverty and poor health (Krueger, Wood, Diehr, & Maxwell, 1990). Others suggest that poverty, especially in the context of racism, has played a major role in the neglect of issues affecting many persons affected by AIDS—in particular, women (Bell, 1989). It is apparent that social class, and specifically poverty, will play a major defining role in the future of the AIDS epidemic.

## Institutional Responses to AIDS

How have institutional responses to HIV disease reflected an awareness of multicultural issues? Historically, institutions were slow to respond to the AIDS crisis (Shilts, 1987). The gay community mobilized its own resources and created the first organized responses to this crisis. However, similar services do not exist for many other HIV-infected persons. Therefore, I will discuss service delivery by community agencies and existing research (including medical research protocols) as being of particular importance in understanding institutional responses.

*Service Delivery by Community Agencies.* Barriers to AIDS-related services exist for many HIV-infected persons as many agencies model services on the needs of gay, primarily white men who represented the first wave of the epidemic. Needs of these men differ in many ways from other persons seeking AIDS services today. Women in particular experience many barriers to services because of problems with childcare and family responsibilities (Cohen, et al., 1989; Levine, 1990; Zuckerman & Gordon, 1988).

Support groups, which form an integral part of services for many agencies treating HIV, are often comprised of members who are homogeneous on one or more dimensions relevant to HIV (Gambe & Getzel, 1989). While many groups exist for gay men and IV drug users, persons such as non-IV drug using heterosexuals may feel that psychosocial services do not exist for them.

Finally, community agency service delivery is very limited in some parts of the country where there are fewer, or more recent cases, of HIV disease. This is particularly true in smaller towns and rural areas. Persons seeking services may also risk greater stigma as anonymity may be compromised.

*Empirical Research on AIDS.* A review of empirical research on HIV disease shows that the majority of studies use cohorts of gay men (Morales, 1990). For example, there are relatively few studies focusing on Latino (Morales, 1990) or Black gay/bisexual men (Williams, 1986). Most research including minorities has studied IV drug users. Most research on women has focused on their role as bearers of infected children as opposed to their response to the psychosocial issues accompanying HIV. Relatedly, these same groups have been underrepresented in clinical research protocols testing new drugs. Women in particular have been excluded from these trials because the course of the disease may differ for them; or because as women they are either potentially or actually pregnant (Levine, 1990). Other cultural barriers exist that have the effect of excluding HIV-infected persons from clinical trials. For example, African-American and Latino communities may be suspicious of research efforts when some past efforts have used or abused their members without providing benefits that compensate (Levine, 1990).

As Gerald (1988) comments, "the irony of AIDS is that it provides an opportunity to organize to redress the underlying social, economic, and political questions that contribute to such a health crisis" (Gerald, 1988, p. 449). To do this, institutions must begin to frame AIDS in a broader context that accounts for multicultural variables contributing to this crisis. This context must be inclusionary rather than exclusionary in its focus.

## Assessing and Counseling HIV-Infected Clients

This paper will next examine how counseling HIV-infected persons is enhanced by recognizing and addressing multicultural issues. A model will be described that examines how psychosocial issues, including multicultural issues, impact reactions and adaptation to HIV infection (Hoffman, 1991). This model provides a conceptual framework for assessing clients' resources as they address psychosocial issues and hypothesizes that client resources predict or moderate responses to being HIV-infected.

This model has been heavily influenced by other models examining reactions to life events (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Schlossberg, 1981). Similar to these models, it emphasizes that major life events can stimulate growth or deterioration depending on the characteristics or resources of the client and his or her environment. However, this model recognizes that HIV is presently a chronic and progressive disease that is highly stigmatized due to its association with sex, drugs, and death. Therefore, the first component of this model—*Special Characteristics of Seropositivity*—is important in understanding the impact of HIV on the client. This component underscores that a diagnosis is in some ways limiting and catastrophic to all who receive it—and that there are aspects of the disease that are experienced to some extent by nearly everyone. These are stigma, coping with a progressive and apparently fatal disease, and the timing in one's life when infection occurs (typically, young adulthood).

*Social Supports*, the second component, refers to interpersonal and institutional support networks available to the client. *Situation*, the third component, refers to the client's perceptions of HIV as a major life event including attributions about the cause or source of infection, changes in life roles, and emotional adjustment to HIV. *Client Characteristics*, the final component, refers to variables such as psychosocial competence, gender, race, social class, and lifestyle co-factors.

The multicultural variables discussed in this paper impact all components of this model. While it is apparent how these variables fit the *Client Characteristics* of the model, a case example will illustrate the impact on the other components.

### Steve

Steve, a 20-year-old African-American gay man, reports that he has felt depressed and hopeless about his future as well as ashamed of being gay since diagnosis. Prior to this, Steve had positive feelings about being gay although he had not told family members. Since learning he was HIV-infected, Steve has tried to dissociate himself from an overt gay identity. He is concerned that if people know he is gay they will assume he has AIDS. He describes feeling "transparent" and feels others are "looking for signs of infection." When Steve became good friends with a young woman, he succumbed to intense pressure to begin a relationship. He feared that if he didn't, people would think he was gay.

*Applying the Psychosocial Model.* In assessing Steve on the *Special Characteristics* dimension, a recurring clinical theme is his fear of being stigmatized for being both gay and HIV-infected. He is so sensitive to this that he "reads into" comments people make and avoids many social interactions. Additionally, Steve was pressured out of a cosmetology program because a required medical form was worded so that staff suspected he was HIV positive. *Social*



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*Supports* are low as Steve moved recently and avoids close relationships to hide being gay and seropositive. He joined an HIV support group but felt out of place as most members were white, older and more educated.

In terms of *Situation*, Steve is experiencing the most anguish around his attributions of self-blame about how he became infected. He is surprised he internalized so many messages about being gay common to his Black community and his church. In terms of *Client Characteristics*, being a young, HIV-infected, gay Black man has affected Steve's adjustment as he has no referent group with which to share his emotional ups and downs. Additionally, he has no personal or family financial support or health insurance.

Despite Steve's strengths, he experiences worry and despair about his future. He lacks a safety net of support, such as community services he is comfortable with, health insurance, and friends and family who accept his lifestyle. It is my belief that issues of sexual orientation, ethnicity, and social class have contributed to excluding him from this safety net.

It is my hope that this overview of the psychosocial issues associated with HIV disease has highlighted the importance of approaching this epidemic from a multicultural perspective. Only when we approach this crisis from a framework of inclusion and advocacy for all affected will there be a chance to succeed.

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# Language and Social Context in a Cross-Cultural Workforce

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To begin with, let us keep in mind at least five possible alternative reasons for supervisor-employee difficulties in a cross-cultural workforce that may have nothing to do with cross-cultural differences (cross-cultural in this case meaning any relationship in which two or more of the participants are culturally different by virtue of ethnic/racial differences, or because of other variables such as sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic factors, and age) (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989), but may be exacerbated by cross-cultural situations:

1. Supervisors may not be adept at managing employees regardless of race or ethnicity.
2. Employees may not effectively communicate their own professional development needs.
3. Employees may simply not be competent to do the job.
4. The environment in which both supervisors and employees work may consist of a corporate culture where mixed messages prevail—unspoken rules of the game may contradict what is openly espoused.
5. Newcomers of any ilk may be burdened with the expectations of changing to adapt to the given corporate culture (Thomas, 1990, p. 112), regardless of any claims to valuing diversity, regardless of any racial group to which the newcomer/supervisor/employee belongs.

The process of assimilating into a corporate culture—assimilation referring to processes that lead to homogeneity in a social unit (Abramson, 1980) — may parallel pressures that a racially or ethnically different individual experiences in other aspects of life. It may be beneficial to assess whether any confounding of processes is taking place, and if pressures to conform to a corporate culture are misconstrued as racism.

Given the above five qualifiers, and certainly other alternatives are also feasible, the purpose of this paper is to explore the impact of cultural values and beliefs on work-related interactions and behaviors among Mexican Americans and Anglos in the Southwestern United States.

## Defining the Populations

The term Mexican American is used here to refer to persons of Mexican ancestry or origin residing in the U.S. Some Mexican Americans came to the U.S. and may be first generation, second generation, and so on. For other Mexican Americans, the U.S. came to them—as is the case with many who reside in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. It is important to note that there are regional differences in self-descriptive terms. "Spanish American" is used in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado; "Chicano" is used in parts of California; "Hispanic" is used in parts of Texas. "Hispanic" is also used as an umbrella term to refer collectively to those residing

in the U.S. of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American ancestry or origin. To further complicate matters, the term "Latino" is sometimes used interchangeably with "Hispanic."

The 1990 Census reports the Hispanic population of the United States at 22.35 million, approximately 8% of the total U.S. population, a 44% increase since 1980. The majority of Hispanics—62.6%—identify themselves as Mexican Americans. Furthermore, the nation's Hispanic population is projected by the Census Bureau to grow 40% by the end of the decade, which will make them the largest minority group in the U.S. In the market place, Hispanics currently have $178 billion in purchasing power (Associated Press, 2/9/92).

Generally, placing a value on workplace diversity is spoken of as a matter of survival (Copeland, 1988), and as a matter of good business sense (Thomas, 1990). Throughout the 1990's, organizations desiring to maintain a competitive advantage will be compelled to hire, retain, and motivate minorities, women, and others different from the mainstream in terms of age, appearance, physical ability, experience, and lifestyle (Copeland, 1988).

In the Southwestern U.S., where the largest numbers of Mexican Americans are concentrated, the challenge in maintaining a viable economy will be to overcome: 1) a history of discrimination, 2) social class differences, and 3) varying levels of educational achievement.

Mexican American culture is high-context. "Context" refers to "the information surrounding an event, inextricably bound up with the meaning of that event" (Hall & Hall, 1990, pp. 6-7). High-context means that they have extensive information networks among family, friends, colleagues, and clients and are involved in many interpersonal relationships at any one time. Because they keep current about each others' lives and work, there is no need for much formal communication among them. The term high-context also means that they constantly exchange a great deal of information among each other, so that no one message needs a lot of detailed explanation to be readily understood.

Anglos, on the other hand, are primarily low-context. They tend to keep information compartmentalized. As a result, they need to exchange a lot of information about any subject to get the job done, when giving a message. In this paper, we use the word "Anglo" to refer to the cultural origin of the majority of American business executives. This population can best be described as that of Americans whose forebears came from northern Europe (Hall & Hall, 1990).

Of course, the term "Anglo" is technically a misnomer. Only 19% of the current U.S. population traces its ancestry to the British Isles, but the cultural influence prevails in the U.S. (Fischer, 1991). In the American Southwest especially, anyone who is not Black, Asian, or Hispanic is usually called "Anglo," be they Irish, Jewish, or even of Eastern European extraction.

Most American business executives are Anglo. According to a survey done by Gallup for the *Wall Street Journal*, 65% of Fortune 500 executives and 68% of small business executives are Anglo (Hall & Hall, 1990, pp. 139-140).

Nationwide, Hispanics make up 7.5% of the workforce, but hold only 4% of white-collar jobs (Dwyer & Cuneo, 1991).

## Assessment of Acculturation

We wish to make brief mention of two acculturation scales which could be useful in assessing the acculturation level of Mexican American employees in the Southwestern United States. Acculturation is defined as "an acceptance of both one's own group and another group; through contact, conflict, and finally adaptation, elements of each ethnic group are included in the culture. This occurs at both personal and group levels" (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Formal, direct administration of any of these instruments is possible. Or, an informal determination can be made by simply using the content areas of these measures as a guide.

*A.R.S.M.A.* An acculturation scale for Mexican Americans that can be administered in English, Spanish, or both languages, known as the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, has been developed (Cuéllar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980). The scale differentiates five distinct types of Mexican Americans based on level of acculturation: very Mexican, Mexican-oriented bicultural, "true" bicultural, Anglo-oriented bicultural, and very Anglicized. The A.R.S.M.A. consists of 20 questions scored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from Mexican/Spanish (1) to Anglo/English (5). The total score is the sum of all 20 multiple-choice items that have been answered; the average score is the total score divided by 20 and is equal to the subject's acculturation rating score. An internal reliability coefficient alpha of .88 has been demonstrated, with a test-retest reliability of .80. Interrater reliability was .89. The authors present several methods used to establish the instrument's validity (Cuéllar et al., 1980).

*L.A.E.C.A. Acculturation Scale.* A 26-item measure, known as the Los Angeles Epidemiologic Catchment Area (L.A.E.C.A.) Acculturation Scale, is a sec-

ond alternative instrument useful for assessing acculturation among Mexican Americans (Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough, & Escobar, 1987). Whereas the A.R.S.M.A. was developed in San Antonio, Texas with inpatient and non-patient populations, the L.A.E.C.A. scale was developed from a probability sample of 1245 adult Mexican Americans residing in Los Angeles. Internal reliability coefficients range from .91 to .97 for the entire sample and specified for sex, educational, and language subsamples.

Construct validity was supported by the L.A.E.C.A. scale's discrimination of generational groups, and that for first generation immigrants from Mexico, the scale was positively related to years in the United States.

## Defining the Method

We have chosen to examine potential differences between Mexican Americans and Anglos in the workplace through the lenses of social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1985), the writings of Brandeis history professor David Hackett Fischer, and the work of anthropologist/business consultant/author Edward T. Hall. By interweaving the threads from the disciplines of social psychology, sociology, history, anthropology and business, we are designing a tapestry whose subtleties, on close examination, reveal an intricate, multi-hued and complex pattern and texture.

Following this, we will offer some specific solutions for problematic work situations, based on the work of Bill O'Hanlon and Michelle Weiner-Davis (1989).

## Social Constructionism

From the social constructionist perspective, it is assumed that meaning and understandings of the world are developed through social interaction. In other words, how we construct meaning is derived from the social context. Knowledge of the world — reality — is placed within the process of social interchanges. Knowledge of the self and emotional experience also evolves from such interchanges. Furthermore, language is the vehicle for the transmission of such meanings and understandings.

The social constructionist view invites us to consider the social origins of taken-for-granted assumptions about psychological processes, which differ markedly from one culture to another. An attraction of social constructionism is that ". . . no account or interpretation of reality can be considered more accurate than any other, if only because there cannot be 'one account' . . ." (Osbeck, 1991, pp. 5-6). This pertains to cross-cultural interactions, and to the broader concerns of multiculturalism as a fourth force in counseling (Pedersen, 1991).

In addition to the world of our experience being constructed through our interactions within a social context, historical contexts also play a significant role. With reference to cross-cultural interchanges which occur between supervisors and employees in the workplace, what are the social/personal artifacts within each person's history that impact their interchange?

With this brief overview of the social constructionist lens and how we intend to apply it to our topic at hand, we will be making further references to it periodically throughout the course of this paper.

## Historical Context of Anglo Folkways

In his work, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, David Hackett Fischer examines the British roots of the colonial beliefs of the original 13 colonies which became the U.S. Fischer contends that, for the most part, America's political and cultural roots are derived from the British countryside. Fischer traces four migratory waves from four different British regions. (Those interested in understanding further the differences in folkways within this one main linguistic group are encouraged to examine Fischer's work, which is beyond the scope of this presentation.)

For our purposes, we are borrowing his constructions of what he terms major "folkways" in Anglo subgroups. Folkways may be defined as "the normative structure of values, customs, and meanings that exist in any culture" (Fischer, 1989, p. 7). Table 1 identifies and defines the folkways we have selected to apply to values commonly embedded in the context of the workplace.

## Cultural Context of Anglo Business Ways

Edward T. Hall is an anthropologist, author (*The Silent Language, The Hidden Dimension*), and has taught at Northwestern University, the University of Denver, and Harvard Business School. He is a consultant to business and government agencies, and his most recent book, *Understanding Cultural Differences*, outlines business practices and preferences in different cultures.

In an Anglo/Mexican American cross-cultural workforce, when supervisor/employee difficulties arise, such conflicts may be rooted in differing cultural values — yet recall the five possible alternatives stated at the beginning of this paper. Our purpose

**Table 1**
**Folkways Characteristic of Anglo Business Culture**

| | |
|---|---|
| Time ways | Attitudes toward the use of time; customary methods of time keeping; the conventional rhythms of life. |
| Order ways | Ideas of order; ordering institutions; forms of disorder; treatment of the disorderly. |
| Speech ways | Conventional patterns of written and spoken language: pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax and grammar. |
| Power ways | Attitudes toward authority and power; patterns of political participation. |
| Rank ways | Rules by which rank is assigned; rules which rank entails; relations between different ranks. |
| Work ways | Work ethics and work experiences; attitudes toward work; nature of work. |

Source: Fisher, 1989.

here is to first examine salient cultural values that are likely to be held by Anglos and Mexican Americans. Note our use of the conditional term "likely." The vast heterogeneity within both groups renders the presence of such values as possible, but not absolute.

In this paper, we will refer to Anglo supervisor/Mexican American supervisee situations. In actual fact, many Mexican Americans who rise to management levels will have become acculturated to the predominant business culture.

## Characteristics of Anglo Business Culture

*Time ways.* U.S. business has its roots in the predominantly monochronic, low-context northern European or Anglo-Saxon culture (Hall & Hall, 1990). In monochronic cultures, the opposite of polychronic cultures, time is linear, a road leading to the future. Time can be lost or wasted, as if it were something valuable in and of itself.

Monochronic people and polychronic people are described in Table 2. Monochronic time dominates most business in the U.S. It is a learned product of northern European culture and is therefore arbitrary and imposed (Hall & Hall, 1990), but is widely assumed to be "the right way."

**Table 2**
**Monochronic and Polychronic People**

| Monochronic people | Polychronic people |
|---|---|
| – do one thing at a time | – do many things at once |
| – are committed more to the job than to the poeple involved | – are committed more to people and conversations than to people |
| – adhere religiously to plans | – are highly distractible |
| – take time commitments seriously | – are more concerned with those who are closely related than with privacy |

Anglos ". . . compartmentalize their personal relationships, their work, and many aspects of day-to-day life. . . . Consequently, each time they interact with others they need detailed background information" (Hall & Hall, 1990, pp. 6-7).

Mexican American culture, on the other hand, tends to be polychronic (Hall & Hall, 1990). The term polychronic refers to the simultaneous occurrence in time of many things and a great deal of involvement with people.

Concerning the tempo of communicating, Hall (1984) writes that the Hispanics of New Mexico continually keep close tabs on each other's emotions, so that even slight variations in mood are detected and commented upon. Such quick readings can be good for group morale if the group is made up of congenial people. But it can lead to disastrous confrontations among young males. While Hispanics may be more tuned in to each other than Anglos are, the short-cycle feedback on the interpersonal level can make for great volatility.

Compared with Hispanics, Anglos may have a very long-term feedback rhythm (Hall, 1984). It may be taken for granted that mood shifts will happen. Something wrong at the office can be attributed to trouble at home. Anglos respect their co-workers' privacy, and therefore resist interfering or intervening in the lives of others. This is, in part, a function of the monochronic time system, whereby functions and people are compartmentalized. Feelings, concerns, and grievances may not be conveyed quickly in a work setting where people believe they should solve their own problems — a feature of the highly individualistic Anglo culture.

A related issue is that Anglos in the workplace may also compartmentalize information and not share it freely, either. Minority employees may feel left out of the information loop and undervalued or unappreciated, because they are not informed. Some members of minority groups may adopt the monochronic behaviors of the predominant culture in their work life (Hall & Hall, 1990).

However, from a social-constructionist perspective, a partial transformation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) of the work environment can occur. Neither the Anglo nor the Mexican American would be required to dismantle or disintegrate their respective preceding realities. Rather, building on their primary socializations (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) in what we call their "culture of origin," where their cognitive learning was doubtlessly highly emotionally charged (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), a considerable transformation of subjective reality can take place (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

We agree with the social constructionist perspective that the most important vehicle for the maintenance of such a transformed reality is conversation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) between Anglo supervisors and Mexican American employees in the workplace. Polychronic Mexican Americans, more adept at conversation, may have an advantage in such transactions.

*Order ways.* With respect to order in institutions, Hall and Hall (1990) write that in U.S. business, the predominant cultural influence is Anglo.

Three characteristics of the most effective Anglo business firms are

1. Clear lines of authority,
2. Detailed instructions for subordinates, and
3. Constant feedback on individual performance.

They also note that Anglos have a deep desire for being accepted, for winning approval, gaining support from colleagues and supervisors, and receiving regularly scheduled evaluations. As a result, in Anglo business settings, there is nearly continuous feedback on performance.

Although an Anglo business setting may seem casual and informal, there are unwritten rules and expectations about power and authority. The upper levels of management have a great deal of authority and know it, as do their employees. This might not be apparent to an observer, or to an outsider.

> The management of [Anglo] companies is top-down, highly compartmentalized, and linear . . . In general, [Anglos] resist sharing information (unlike their polychronic [Mexican American] counterparts) . . . and . . . require detailed information and guidance. (Hall & Hall, 1990, p. 160)

Anglos exhibit much impatience in meetings, tending to get to the point immediately. They regard indirect communication, small talk, and skirting the issue as evasive and consequently distrust such tactics, thinking they may be a smoke-screen for dishonesty or lack of competence. They value the written word highly, and are procedure-oriented. There is a constant flow of paper, memos, letters, which provide specific instructions for what is to be done and how. When a culture is low-context, as the Anglo business culture is, compartmentalization blocks the flow of information, thus creating a need for use of the written word (Hall & Hall, 1990).

From a social constructionist perspective (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), if an Anglo work culture at a so-called pre-diversity stage were to take their order ways for granted, there are several potential conflicts:

Constant feedback on individual performance may elicit a conflictual response from Mexican Americans. They may have been socialized within their families to have a strong sense of family identity (Falicov and Karrer, 1980). In addition, the nuclear family may have been embedded in an extended family network. Therefore, each member was taught responsibility to others, creating group interdependence. In such a family, opportunities for individual expression, autonomy, self-sufficiency, and a differentiated identity are reduced. Receiving a high degree of individual feedback could be construed by a Mexican American as being singled out, picked on, considered untrustworthy, not holding the supervisor's confidence, and receiving undue criticism.

Perhaps most difficult for a Mexican American employee in an Anglo workforce is the matter of un-

written rules. Depending on the level of acculturation, a Mexican American may mistake a casual, informal work style for inappropriate, even offensive, over-familiarity. Conversely, informality may be misinterpreted by a Mexican American as a cue to become more familiar. If this is more familiarity than an Anglo intended to elicit from a minority colleague, cultural dissonance is experienced at a social level (Falicov & Karrer, 1980).

Mexican Americans may also experience a lack of reciprocity or lack of "fit" (Falicov & Karrer, 1980, p. 388) when the unspoken rules of the workplace are not made explicit. And such experience may be construed as prejudice or discrimination, when it is actually more a matter of low-context/high-context differences.

*Speech ways.* According to Hall (1966), Benjamin Lee Whorf says that

> Language is . . . a major element in the formation of thought . . . man's very perception of the world about him is programmed by the language he speaks, just as a computer is programmed. Like the computer, man's mind will register and structure external reality only in accordance with the program. Since two languages often program the same class of events quite differently, no belief or philosophical system should be considered apart from language . . . this indicates that all men are captives of the language they speak as long as they take their language for granted. (Whorf, cited in Hall, 1966, pp. 1-2)

From a social constructionist perspective, language forces people to speak in its patterns (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). For Mexican American employees, it is useful to assess their language of affect, the language they use under stress.

For example, McGoldrick, Pearce, and Giordano (1982) describe how one word, "respect", is very different for each culture in tone and meaning:

> . . . the internalized meaning of the word varies. For Anglo-Americans, it reflects a fairly "detached, self-assured egalitarianism." For Mexicans, it implies a relationship involving a "highly emotionalized dependence and dutifulness, within a fairly authoritarian framework." (Diaz-Guerrero, 1975, p. 140)

In addition, Anglos make frequent use of the written word in business communications to balance out the compartmentalized nature of their information flow. They need to convey a great deal of information at any one time, because the flow of information is restricted and structured to take place only in scheduled interactions.

On the other hand, depending on Mexican American employees' levels of acculturation, they will be accustomed to dealing in a polychronic, high-context way — with continuous interpersonal interactions, frequent interruptions, and free-flowing information, completely comfortable with taking time to complete conversations and transactions, regardless of what the schedule might say.

From a social constructionist viewpoint, the most important interactions are face-to-face. All other cases are derivatives (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Mexican Americans prefer face-to-face communication to the written word. Here is another significant discrepancy in cultural values: how information is exchanged. Closely related to the flow of speech and communication, controlling information flow, is the issue of how power is distributed in the different cultures.

*Power ways.* Hall and Hall (1990) comment that

> . . . there is a strong pressure on [Anglos] to be team players, to go along with the majority. In business, this means not rocking the boat or making waves, and in politics, it often means supporting a leader at the expense of telling the truth or of doing the right thing. The pressure to get along well with others means individualism is less appreciated than conformity on the job. (p. 152)

Contingent upon a Mexican American's level of acculturation, the individualism that was discouraged in the family (Falicov & Karrer, 1980) may be congruent with the pressure to be team players in the workplace. This asset may need to be made explicit, however.

*Rank ways.* Hall and Hall (1990) write that Anglos value fairness, which means treating people impartially and without favoritism. They believe in equality before the law; that is, justice for every person regardless of social or economic circumstances. However, while most Anglos profess a belief in tolerance and democratic ideals, women and minorities still face enormous barriers to achieving acceptance of their rights despite some progress in the past forty years.

Here again, from a social constructionist perspective, the concepts of institutionalization and habitualization may be applied. Berger and Luckmann (1966) refer to institutionalization as man's self-production, which is always and of necessity a social enterprise. People together produce a human environment, with socio-cultural and psychological formations. Likewise, there are similar formations for work environments. Habitualization provides direction and the environments. Habitualization provides di-

rection and the specialization activity that makes it unnecessary for each situation to be defined anew, step by step. Thus, implicit in the notions of the ideas of institutionalization and habitualization is the idea of shared history, which takes time to create.

For minorities in the workplace, and especially for Anglos and Mexican Americans in the U.S. Southwest, the co-creation of a new social reality becomes necessary in the workplace for business endeavors to function optimally.

Furthermore, rank ways can become intertwined with the issues of affirmative action and promotion. It is suggested that when promotion becomes an issue in the workplace, Anglo supervisors need to provide explicit information to Mexican American employees concerning general trends in promotion, i.e., explaining that making a lateral move or staying a certain amount of time in one position is not unusual in this day and age (Kirkpatrick, 1990).

They also need to impart explicit information concerning what the employee needs to do to get a promotion or pay increase: What are the performance requirements? What is necessary for advancement? Providing information in this way gives minorities in the workplace an opportunity to learn the "rules of the game."

If Anglos communicated regularly in the high-context way in which their Mexican Americans employees communicate, and if the Anglo and the Mexican American had a shared history, explicit information sharing as we have described would not be necessary. But the Anglo supervisor needs to correct for the high-context/low-context differences, in order to be fair.

This brings us to the issue of affirmative action, controversial in and of itself. For our purposes, we wish to emphasize that for Mexican Americans, the Anglo values of fairness, impartiality, equality, and non-favoritism, may all be alien to the Mexican American's social and historical experience.

Contingent on the Mexican American employee's level of acculturation, it may be that in their family of origin each member had their place (Falicov and Karrer, 1980), and that a certain amount of respect and deference was a feature of their socialization. This can be an asset at work if a culturally aware Anglo supervisor knows how to assist a Mexican American employee in adapting such behavior from the family setting to the work setting.

*Work Ways.* Hall and Hall (1990) write that many Americans are motivated by a strong work ethic which the early settlers from northern Europe brought with them when they came to the American continent. Europeans often observe that Americans schedule everything except time for relaxation. This is particularly true of American executives, who drive themselves hard, often at the expense of their families and their health.

However, in the American population as a whole today, the work ethic as a motivation appears to be diminishing, especially among younger Americans, while a stronger orientation toward material or other rewards is becoming more evident.

Persons from other cultures often use the term "self-confident" to describe American business executives (Hall & Hall, 1990). Rightly or wrongly, Americans are apt to feel confident that their ways are the best ways, often zealously attempting to impose their ways on others, and then failing to understand why they encounter resistance and resentment.

There is also a tendency to dichotomize, to see things as "all black" or "all white," as "for" or "against" something, often without fully examining the alternatives. In general, American businessmen tend to oversimplify and to look for instant solutions, which in part accounts for the American reputation for naivete in the rest of the world. They are often more interested in the headlines and the bottom line than in what comes next.

In contrast, Falicov and Karrer (1980) write that, for Mexican Americans, the world may be a given, not an object for change as it is for those raised in the Protestant work ethic. Luck is also a possible factor in the Mexican American world-view, dependent on acculturation level. The matter of retirement is a useful example of cultural differences that are likely to exist between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans. For older Mexican American males or their families, retirement from their usual occupation does not represent a significant turning point (Falicov & Karrer, 1980).

> Productive work in one's occupation is not a central life task as it is for those raised in the Protestant ethic. In Mexico, there is a cultural tradition that values leisure. Furthermore, retirement does not entail a status loss since money and material possessions do not add up to self-worth. Various anchorage points that provide identification outside of work are found in male groups and extended family relationships (pp. 418-419).

Most simply stated, it could be useful for an Anglo supervisor to assess the extent of a Mexican American employee's cultural beliefs about work (i.e., long hours, few vacations). It could also be useful to determine how much of the so-called Protes-

tant work ethic a Mexican American might have internalized during the course of their schooling.

The social constructionist perspective also lends itself to the application of work ways in a cross-cultural workforce. The idea of institutionalization, as discussed in the section on rank ways above, pertains to the work environment that people produce together. Any action that is repeated frequently becomes cast into a pattern which can then be reproduced with an economy of effort (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). With institutionalization, meanings tend toward at least minimal consistency. When building a cross-cultural workforce, whether of Anglos and Mexican Americans, or of any two or more culturally different groups, we believe the following social constructionist idea to be essential:

> . . . it is more likely that one will deviate from programs set up for one by others than from programs that one has helped establish oneself. (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 62)

## Proposed Solutions

Having outlined potential value differences between Anglos and Mexican Americans which may cause conflicts and problems in the workplace, it should be said at this point that all of this information is just that. It is information. It is not "how it is," or "the truth" of what occurs on the job. Nor is any of it always relevant. Each situation must be considered as a unique exchange between individuals, not as something that falls under a category or lies within a specific range of possibility.

Additionally, each exchange will be different even if the individuals are the same. A social constructionist would say that each exchange creates a new reality.

## Looking at solutions:

So, given all of the above, the potential for culturally-based clashes, the possible alternatives presented in the beginning (that the supervisor may not be a good manager, that the employee may not convey their needs adequately, that the environment may be faulty, that the employee may be incompetent, and that a newcomer may be having adjustment difficulties), and the caveats, that everything said so far may not apply — what now? What can an Anglo supervisor and/or a Mexican American employee do when their relationship hits the rocks, so to speak? How can they get the ship back in the water, and on course again?

### 1. "This is the only time this has ever happened."

First and foremost, it is essential that everyone involved considers the situation to be unique, between unique individuals, and rigorously avoid generalities. This keeps the mind open to possibilities, information and observation (not closed, because the person "knows what this is like"). Explore the situation with the mind of a beginner, listening to what is going on and who is saying what, avoiding rapid conclusions, categorizing or stereotyping.

### 2. What are the exceptions to the problem?

Nothing "always happens." When was this better? When does the situation not occur? When did it not occur? What was going on then? How was that time different? How did the people behave then? Who did what? Who didn't do what?

Get very specific here, to the extent that a list may be helpful, noting exact dates and times, specific details of the exceptions. For example, if an employee whose attention wanders at times, can maintain concentration and get the job done properly sometimes, what are those times like? What exactly is that employee doing then? Is that task one she particularly likes and has a talent for? What is that? What does she stick with? Why? What is the difference? When the specifics are outlined, note them, and begin to plan how to make exceptions happen in the future.

### 3. When the situation is resolved, exactly what will be different?

Once again, specifics are important here. No matter what the issues are, it is important for everyone involved to know what the ideal situation looks like. Considering the value differences outlined earlier in the paper, the answers to this question may be surprising to one or more of the people involved. They may have different communication tempos, different scheduling ideas, and different ways to express themselves, to name a few. Getting specific with what is desirable can be a revelation.

For example, if the answer to the question "what will be different?" is "they'll get along better," pursue the matter further. What does that mean to that person? When they get along better, who will say what to whom? And when? And how? How many times? Exactly what will those exchanges be like?

## 4. What explanations does each participant have for what is happening?

People go through life making explanations for themselves about things that are important. How do these people see this? How do they understand what is going on?

For example, if an Anglo supervisor becomes increasingly impatient with the timidity of a young Mexican American employee, the supervisor may perceive the employee as unassertive or lacking a sense of urgency. The supervisor may begin to suspect that the employee is incapable of doing the job if the employee seems overly nervous and avoidant. Despite high recommendations from previous employers and the opinions he'd formed himself during the interview, that supervisor may begin to think of dismissing the employee.

If quietly and politely approached in private about the issue, the employee may reveal quite another story about what is going on. Perhaps they are feeling nervous because they have not been so closely supervised before, or received so much attention from a manager. They may have been told something by another employee that has unnerved them. There are countless possible explanations, which supervisors will only find out if they ask.

## 5. What are the strengths of this employee?

What do you like about them? What made them valuable enough for them to be hired? If you inherited them, what did your predecessor like? Sometimes it is so easy to get caught up in what's "always wrong" that what is "right" about someone can become invisible. Make a list of their strengths, and go over it with them. Ask them what they believe to be your strengths. Ask them for a list of these. What have you left off of their list that they know about?

## 6. Self-Assessment

It may be that a cultural value has been "stepped on." Persons are usually unaware of their culture of origin values until they are violated. In other words, cultural habituation is primarily stored at the unconscious level, programmed into the individual since early infancy. If a supervisor's reaction to an employee's behavior is out of proportion to the importance of the incident, it is highly possible that the employee is "stepping on" some unconscious values, thereby offending the supervisor.

Instead of calling forth a war-cry, a more appropriate response is a close, personal examination of the situation, to see what deep-seated belief has been violated.

## 7. Who do I know who has successfully handled a situation like this?

It can be extremely useful to consult with peers and supervisors when facing a difficult work situation. Finding a role model to consult with can save time and energy that might be wasted on futilely struggling alone. How does this other person react to similar issues? What do they do? What do they say? What do they expect of their employees? What advice do they have for you?

## 8. Who is the one who is complaining?

Similarly, to whom is the situation not a problem? Is it really bothering "everyone?" Or just a few people? Consider the source.

## 9. How long am I going to continue doing "more of the same" (when it isn't working)?

To continue to apply more of the same in any given situation, when the tactic is not proving to be effective, is one of the most common errors made. How long can this go on?

## 10. Do I need to just do something different?

Am I, as a supervisor, trying to correct the uncorrectable? Would it be better for me to quit my attempts to change this person to fit my mold, and adapt my requirements to their abilities? Do I need to completely alter my tactics with this person? What would be a different approach? What is my role, if any?

## 11. What do I want as a supervisor?

Are my assumptions based on a limited sample of behavior? Of all the problematic situations in interpersonal relationships both at home and at work, expectations and assumptions ("everybody knows . . .") not expressed can be lethal boomerangs. It is important to thoroughly explore expectations, both overt and covert, so that nothing is left to the imagination (or misinterpretation) of anyone involved in the job.

These expectations may be related to performance, to prior experience, to dress, personal habits, language spoken on the job, break times and fre-

quency, hours of work, turn-around time, information flow, and so on.

## Conclusion

We have described but a few of the many complexities of work-related cultural differences, followed by suggested solutions to situations that may arise. Our presentation of these ideas is designed to open up possibilities and choices for resolving difficult situations on the job.

The bottom line seems to be

1. To keep an open mind,
2. To regard each situation as unique,
3. To remember, while being culturally informed, to always consider the individual history and cultural origin of each person we encounter, including ourselves!
4. To be aware of our own cultural values, and continue to bring them to consciousness, to prevent their standing in the way of communication.

Only by greeting the people in our lives in such a manner can we hope to break out of the prisons our cultural walls may have placed around us. If the walls remain intact at the unconscious level, we look out at those of different cultural origins through bars of misunderstanding and wrongly perceived injustices.

May we, instead, transcend these limitations through open-mindedness and dedicated effort, willing to regard the other person individually, as a culturally different, valuable, unique fellow traveller on the high road of life.

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# The Role of Accreditation in Enhancing Cultural Diversity in Psychology Graduate and Professional Training Programs

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Accreditation as conducted by the American Psychological Association (APA) can have an important impact on cultural diversity in psychology graduate and professional training programs. The importance of this topic is underscored by the changing cultural diversity environment in the last two decades and the projected changes in the next decade. In order to fully understand the role of cultural diversity in accreditation one has to understand how accreditation operates within APA. This will be reviewed in this paper and how cultural diversity is addressed in the accreditation process will be identified. After this discussion recent changes in accreditation will be identified. Finally, actual and potential future changes in accreditation affecting cultural diversity will be identified and discussed.

## The Changing Cultural Diversity and Accreditation Environment

The growth of the ethnic minority population in this country has been acknowledged by a number of individuals and organizations. It is predicted that persons of ethnic minority status will constitute one-third of the United States population by the turn of the 21st century (American Council on Education, 1988). More specifically, by the year 2000 the U.S. Census Bureau projects a population of over 280,000,000, consisting of 200,000,000 Whites, over 37,000,000 Blacks, 31,000,000 of Spanish origin, and 12,000,000 Asians and other minority groups (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986; 1990). While such growth in minorities will be concentrated in certain parts of the country, it is likely that no region will be unaffected.

Providing mental health services and treatment to ethnic minorities has been acknowledged by administrators, service providers, clinicians, and researchers to be an ongoing problem (Cheung & Snowden, 1990; Korchin, 1980; Padilla, Ruiz, & Alverez, 1975; Sue, 1988). Ethnic minorities have characteristically been underserved in the mental health system, have received inappropriate or inadequate services, and have received ineffective treatment (Acosta, Yamamoto, & Evans, 1982; Jackson, 1983; Leong, 1986; Lorion & Felner, 1986; Roll, Millen, & Martinez, 1980). The need for mental health services and treatment of ethnic minorities will continue to increase in the 1990s as political, socioeconomic, and societal forces continue to put these groups at risk.

With the acknowledged need for more and improved services and treatment, and with the increased populations, there has been increased attention directed at the education and training of psychologists to work with ethnic minorities. A number of national training conferences have underscored the importance of training psychologists to work with these populations (American Psychological Association, 1987; Bourg, Bent, McHolland, & Stricker, 1989; Stricker, Davis-Russell, Duran, Hammond, McHolland, Polite, & Vaughn, 1990). These conferences have strongly recommended that curriculum content devoted to ethnic minorities be increased. Such efforts have been supported by the Committee on Accreditation, American Psychological Association (Office of Accreditation, APA, 1991).

Despite these sociodemographic trends and identified service needs of ethnic minorities, the use of cultural diversity as an accreditation criterion has

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recently come under fire at the national level (Atwell, 1991) from the Education Secretary of the United States Government, Lamar Alexander. The continued debate around multiculturalism in higher education is reflected in the entire January/February, 1992 issue of *Change*, the magazine of higher education, which is devoted to this topic. As aptly stated by Jerry Gaff . . . "The question is no longer whether students should learn about diverse cultures, but how. The task today is that of designing and implementing programs that are educationally valuable" (Gaff, 1992).

For clinical, counsel, and school psychology doctoral training programs, for internship training programs, and eventually for post-doctoral training programs, cultural diversity encompasses three principals. First, accessibility to insure that ethnic minority students and faculty can have access to these training programs without irrelevant barriers being placed in front of them. Second, fairness such that once in these programs ethnic minority students and faculty will be treated in a fair and reasonable fashion. Third, competence so that all students would be trained to provide services and work with ethnic minorities given the changing cultural diversity environment noted above.

## Historical Role of Cultural Diversity in APA Accreditation

There are at least five components of the accreditation process that have a potential impact on cultural diversity. These are: (1) the program self-study, through which data are provided to the APA Accreditation Office on each program; (2) the accreditation criteria which serve as the standards for evaluating the programs; (3) the accreditation site visit, through which the program is visited and evaluated by a site visit team; (4) the site visit report which is a product of the programs data and the site visit; and (5) the Committee on Accreditation (C/A), which makes the decision on the accreditation of the training program. Each of these components will be reviewed below.

The doctoral and internship program self-study takes on three forms in the accreditation process: (1) the Application for Accreditation form, for programs that are applying for initial accreditation; (2) the Interim Annual Report, which accredited programs fill out each year on their program; and (3) the Self-Study in Preparation for Accreditation Site Visit, which programs fill out prior to their regularly scheduled APA site visit. The Application for Accreditation and Self-Study in Preparation for Accreditation Site Visit are quite lengthy, while the Interim Annual Report is very short. Each of these forms has broad questions on cultural diversity. In all the forms, data are provided by the programs on the number of ethnic minority students, staff, and faculty in the programs.

There are seven criterion on which doctoral programs are evaluated and four on which internship programs are evaluated (American Psychological Association, 1986). These criterion include: Criterion I: Institutional Setting; Criterion II: Cultural and Individual Differences; Criterion III: Training Models and Curriculum; Criterion IV: Faculty; Criterion V: Students; Criterion VI: Facilities; and Criterion VII: Practicum and Internship Training. The four criteria on which internship settings are evaluated include: Administrative Issues, Professional Psychology Staff, Interns, and Program. Criterion II: Cultural and Individual Differences is the only criteria that deals specifically with cultural diversity.

Doctoral and internship training programs in the process of applying for initial accreditation are site visited. Already accredited programs are routinely site visited every five years. A three-person site visit team is assembled for the doctoral programs by the training programs from a list of potential site visitors provided to the program by the APA Accreditation Office. For internship training programs, a two-person site visit team is assembled by a process similar to that of the doctoral training programs. Of particular note in selecting the site visit team is the fact that each doctoral program and internship setting select the individuals who are to conduct the site visit.

A site visit report is written by the site visit team and forwarded to the Office of Accreditation. This report evaluates the doctoral training program and internship training program on the previously mentioned criteria and the report is typically organized around these criteria. The report is based upon the program self-study data and the information and impressions of the team from the site visit. In this report is a recommendation by the site visit team as to whether or not the program should be accredited and for how long it should be accredited. Programs have an opportunity to respond to the site visit report prior to the program being reviewed by the C/A.

The Committee on Accreditation which consists of ten members (eight psychologists and two public interest members), is the body that makes the decision as to whether or not a program will be accredited and for how long it will be accredited. It makes this decision based upon the program self-study materials, the site visit report, and the programs response to the site visit report. As such, the amount and quality of these materials provided to the C/A is of crucial importance in the committee arriving at a decision or action. The training program has the opportunity to appeal the decisions arrived at by the

C/A. The appeals process involves constituting an appeals panel to review the Accreditation materials and the C/A decision.

A number of accreditation issues revolving around cultural diversity are present in each of the five previously mentioned accreditation components. Although information on cultural diversity is solicited on each of the program self-study forms, the questions are often either vaguely worded or ask the program to simply describe the number and level of ethnic minority students in the doctoral program or internship training setting. There also have been no mechanisms through which the retention and graduation of ethnic minority students, and the promotion and tenure of ethnic minority faculty could be identified and systematically monitored.

Of the seven previously described accreditation criteria only Criterion II: Cultural and Individual Differences explicitly deals with cultural diversity.[2] This criterion is vaguely worded and ethnicity is only one of several diversity dimensions that are described in the *Accreditation Handbook*. The descriptors that are used to refer to these other components include age, gender, ethnic and racial backgrounds, religion, life style, and differing social and ethnic backgrounds. Sometimes this criterion is broadly interpreted by the programs and training settings, as well as the site visit teams, sometimes it is interpreted narrowly.

As previously mentioned the doctoral training programs and internship settings chose the site visit team. Although programs are encouraged to have gender and ethnic minority diversity on the site visit teams, there is no guarantee that either will be represented on the site visit team. Of the 1183 total potential site visitors in the site visitor pool less than 10% are ethnic minorities. During 1990-1991 there were over 161 site visits (doctoral and internship programs) conducted by the American Psychological Association. As such, even if all 110 ethnic minority site visitors were available, it would be impossible to ensure that ethnic minority representation on each site visit team.

The site visit report for both doctoral programs and internship settings is organized around the accreditation criteria. Descriptive and evaluative comments on cultural diversity for doctoral programs occur primarily under Criterion II. At times these comments are found in some or all of the other criteria. Since there is no specific categorical criterion for cultural and individual differences for internship programs, descriptions and evaluative comments can be mentioned in any of the internship criteria. In conjunction with the reporting of cultural diversity, the variability in the quality of the site visit reports can put the C/A at a disadvantage in evaluating and making judgments on the extent and effectiveness with which cultural diversity is addressed by the training programs.

As the group that reviews the materials and makes decisions on each doctoral program and internship setting, the Committee on Accreditation is in a very important decision-making position in the accreditation process. The committee has continuously attempted to have members with a variety of perspectives, e.g., clinical, counseling, and school psychology; academic, service and internship settings; and the public interest sector. In addition to these perspectives, it is incumbent to have a cultural diversity perspective as reflected by the composition of the committee and members who are sensitive to cultural diversity issues.

## Recent Changes in Accreditation Affecting Cultural Diversity

During the Spring, 1990, meeting of the Committee on Accreditation, the Subcommittee on Cultural and Individual Differences was created in order to review Criterion II: Cultural and Individual Differences of the APA Criteria for Accreditation (American Psychological Association, 1986). This subcommittee was charged with the task of identifying the rationale, meaning, scope, measurement, and implementation of Criterion II in doctoral and internship training programs. The C/A during its subsequent

2 As a science and profession, psychology deals with the full range of human variability. It follows that social responsibility and respect for cultural and individual differences are attitudes which must be imparted to students and trainees and be reflected in all phases of the program's operation: faculty recruitment and evaluation, curriculum and field training. Social and personal diversity of faculty and students is an essential goal if the trainees are to function optimally within our pluralistic society. Programs must develop knowledge and skills in their students relevant to human diversity such as people with handicapping conditions; of differing ages, genders, ethnic and racial backgrounds, religions, and life-styles; and from differing social and individual backgrounds. These principles are emboldied and elaborated in the specific guidelines and criteria that follow and are consistent with the purposes of the Association as stated in Article 1 of the Bylaws. (American Psychological Association, 1986, p. B4).

Fall, 1990, Spring, 1991, and Summer, 1991 meetings has reviewed and approved a number of recommendations from the Subcommittee with the expectation that these changes be included in changes in the accreditation criteria and process.

In formulating these recommendations cultural diversity was only part of the broader cultural and individual differences components that constitute Criterion II. The recommendations approved by the Subcommittee on Cultural and Individual Differences were: (1) comprehensive, as reflected in the institutional context and program operation; (2) required, as reflected in the curriculum and experiences provided to students; (3) demonstrable by training programs through documentation and data; and (4) established in such a fashion that the training programs were to be held accountable. What follows is a description of the assumptions described in the 1991 *Capsule* (Office of Accreditation, APA, 1991) article and the means through which these could be implemented at different levels in a program. Although these comments focused on Criterion II, they have direct relevance to cultural diversity.

## Background and Context for Criterion II

As a science and profession, psychology addresses the full range of human variability. The inclusion of Criterion II as a separate area of the APA "Criteria for Accreditation," themes of which are repeated in other areas, is intended to demonstrate commitment to achieving an understanding of and respect for cultural and individual differences among the values and attitudes as well as knowledge and skills imparted to and developed in students who are preparing for professional practice in psychology. For such to be accomplished, these values, attitudes, and behaviors should be reflected in all phases of the graduate program's operation including its administration; its faculty recruitment and promotion; its student recruitment, retention, and graduation; and its curriculum and field training.

In the area of curriculum and field training, it is expected that all students in doctoral programs of professional psychology should acquire breadth of knowledge and skills relevant to understanding and working with clients of differing ages, gender, ethnic and racial backgrounds, religions, sexual orientation, and life styles, as well as persons with disabilities who are physically or mentally challenged. Incorporating such a focus into doctoral and internship training programs is consonant with demographic trends in this country, and underscores the array of needs that psychology as a science and practice will face in the next century. Indeed, just as our nation became a "melting pot" (mostly European) of cultures at the turn of the past century, we face major changes in the ethnic/racial composition of our society as the next century approaches.

The key phrases in Criterion II are "must be imparted," "must be developed," and "in all phases of the program's operation." How programs demonstrate this compliance will depend in part on how they are organized and structured, their model of training and specialty area of focus, and their setting; but compliance needs to be demonstrated. In fact, not only do programs need to impart knowledge and skills about diverse populations, but programs will only be considered for accreditation when it has been demonstrated that discriminatory policies toward these diverse groups do not exist in their institutions, programs, and service settings.

## Changes in the Implementation of Criterion II

*Institutional Setting.* The program, the academic department, or other organizational entity in which the program is embedded and the university or school to which the program belongs, should demonstrate clearly a commitment to an affirmative effort to include diversity among faculty, students, curriculum, and training and field experiences. This commitment should also be demonstrated in the internship training settings. Such an effort should go beyond an equal opportunity policy and traditional recruitment/admissions procedures of the organization or institution, to include teaching approaches and physical facilities that are accessible to persons with disabilities.

The climate of an organization or institution should reflect a priority value that honors diversity through policy statements, a commitment of resources, organizational and institutional practices, and total program design and execution. A climate valuing diversity should approach an atmosphere which promotes excellence in research, teaching, and service. Social and professional responsibility should be embraced in a manner such that diversity is valued not as diluting excellence but as creating excellence within the organization, institution, program, and training setting.

Programs should establish clear action plans to promote education and training involving diversity. These plans should reflect individuality, creativity, and incremental progress steps in order to meet specified goals. These goals should reflect regional needs as well as national trends and should be clearly stated and be capable of being documented and monitored. The focus should be on the implementation of the action plans and their thorough and systematic outcome evaluation by the program

and training setting. Incremental progress and eventual attainment of these goals will serve as one of the critical measures of diversity.

*Faculty and Staff.* There often is a too narrow focus, even among the Committee on Accreditation itself, upon the diversity of full-time faculty in the program and staff in the internship training setting. Given the economic, geographic, social-cultural, and academic needs that must be met as well, this focus results frequently in traditional barrier explanations being outcomes. This is not to say that programs should abandon such a goal. More effort, however, should be made towards the goal of achieving diversity through part-time faculty, adjunct faculty, clinical (field training) faculty, part-time staff, workshop leaders, community mentors, visiting lecturers, colloquium speakers, and so on. The latter teaching and training resources present a powerful and more readily accessible resource base to expand the diversity of professional role models available to students in a program.

Another concern is the academic status of women, ethnic minorities, and other faculty who are recruited, especially when they are junior, untenured faculty. Although these persons may be excellent resource faculty for the program and the academic institution, to address issues of human diversity, there should be sensitivity to their personal areas of academic and professional specialization. It is also incumbent upon programs to organize faculty development and support initiatives, to facilitate retention and promotion of such faculty. Successful retention and promotion of women, ethnic minority, and other junior faculty should result in a positive organizational climate and serve as a mechanism for attracting diverse students to academic careers.

*Students.* The usual methods of attracting and selecting diverse students are less than fully effective. If a program truly is intent upon increasing diversity it can do so by employing more sensitive, knowledgeable, flexible, and innovative procedures for recruitment and retention. Selection and admission criteria should promote program goals in a functional manner, and should not represent a barrier to diversity by using non-relevant variables. Programs should have a coherent plan for recruitment and retention and should document those steps taken to improve admissions and retention of diverse students. Additionally, how instruction and teaching facilities will be made accessible to students with disabilities should be described.

*Curriculum.* The curriculum of every program will need to be designed so that all students become familiar with human diversity. Cultural and individual differences will take on the same weight and importance as biological, cognitive-affective, and social bases of behavior, and individual behavior. The faculty should review and monitor the program's curriculum with the goal of ensuring coverage of appropriate topics. Such a curriculum could take the form of embedding topics on diversity in each core course or could take the form of a specialized required course. In addition, the program should also be responsive in its curriculum to those conditions of diversity that are prevalent in its geographical area as well as national trends. Whatever the method chosen, syllabi should document how such coverage is obtained.

An important aspect of the curriculum is the assessment of students' acquired knowledge and skills in this area. Programs should be able to demonstrate how they assess the acquisition and use of this knowledge in all students, such as might occur through questions on preliminary or comprehensive examinations, on measures used to evaluate the student's progress through the program, on measures of competence to practice, or on measures to be placed in practica or internship settings. Those steps that are taken to remedy short-comings in this area should also be identified and documented.

*Field Training (Practica/Internship).* Agencies, organizations, and service delivery systems, all offer the program opportunities to work with diverse populations. A strong element for the selection of field training sites may be the experiences possible with diverse clients, staff, supervisors, and administrators. The mix of ages, gender, ethnic and racial backgrounds, religions, sexual orientation, and life styles, as well as persons with disabilities who are physically or mentally challenged will of course vary depending upon the setting. Student training experiences can have explicit requirements that ensure diversity experiences in their field setting placements.

These field settings allow for practice of the knowledge and skills that a student has received in the didactic portion of the doctoral training program. In addition, the attitudinal component of Criterion II (that of valuing differences) is often easier to influence as part of clinical supervision. It is the faculty's responsibility, accompanied by the clinical or on-site supervisors, to demonstrate that students' competence in diversity-related issues has been achieved. For example, forms used to assess practica experiences should include items related to students' comfort and ability in dealing with clients who manifest issues of diversity.

Internships should further advance these diversity-related goals, both in the knowledge and skills that are imparted and in the attitudinal component of practice. Internships, for example, might offer seminars or workshops in the influence of diversity-related conditions or issues on practice, particularly

with those types of client populations or concerns seen by the particular agency in which the internship occurs. Again, assessment of outcomes is critical, and internships should be able to demonstrate that interns' competence in dealing with diversity-related issues is clearly and systematically assessed.

## Changes in the Accreditation Process

During 1990-1991 the Committee on Accreditation began to more extensively utilize two procedures that have a direct impact on cultural diversity. These two procedures—red flagging and deferral had been at the disposal of the C/A but had not been used as frequently as has been the case in the last two years. Red flagging refers to the identification of those criterion related deficiencies that the program may need correction or further work. Those programs red flagged are closely monitored on their progress on these identified deficiencies. Deferral involves delaying taking action on a program until further criterion related information has been obtained on the program.

The red flagging and deferral procedure have the impact of engaging the Committee on Accreditation through the Office of Accreditation with the doctoral or internship training program on a more continuous basis thus creating an interchange between the two around the criterion deficiencies. It has been the case that a number of programs that have been red flagged or deferred have been programs that have had Criterion II deficiencies. These procedures have the C/A in the direction of more closely monitoring Criterion II and thereby enhancing the diversity of programs in general and specifically cultural diversity.

## Future Changes in Accreditation Affecting Cultural Diversity

The importance of comprehensive, detailed, and accurate data on cultural diversity has been alluded to in this paper. Such data should be reflected in the Application for Accreditation, Interim Annual Report, and Self-Study in Preparation for Accreditation Site Visit of doctoral and internship training programs. More focused questions are needed to insure that data on cultural diversity is reflected in all components of the program (e.g., institutional setting, faculty and staff, students, curriculum, and practica and field training). Of particular importance is being able to track the changes that occur in cultural diversity, such as recruitment and retention over time. Such data will not only allow monitoring of these areas but will enhance accountability as programs demonstrate how they are achieving their cultural diversity objectives across all the above arenas.

Moving in the direction of requiring cultural and individual differences to have equal status as core content areas (e.g., biological, cognitive, and social bases of behavior) will underscore the importance of this criterion as has been suggested by others (Myers, Wohlford, Guzman, & Echemendia, 1991). However, the status of cultural diversity will remain ambiguous if it continues to be subsumed under the broad heading of cultural and individual differences along with the other important components, i.e., age, gender, religion, life style, and differing social backgrounds. Efforts need to be made to underscore the importance of ethnic and racial backgrounds without demeaning or diminishing these other important Criterion II components. The importance of including content on cultural diversity in internship training programs also needs to be emphasized.

How cultural diversity curriculum is imbedded in programs is up to the training program. While it may not be feasible for any one program to address the full range of cultural diversity issues, a breadth of perspectives about these issues at least should be achieved in each program's graduates. Programs should be especially responsive in their classroom and field training to the cultural diversity that is prevalent in its geographical area as well as national trends. The thrust of the accreditation process should be on how programs assess and demonstrate knowledge and skills on cultural diversity acquired through either core courses, course components, and field and experiential training.

The process through which site visit teams are constituted should be closely scrutinized. The selection of the site visit team by the doctoral or internship training programs should be reconsidered. Although programs would in all likelihood strongly react to this prerogative being taken away from them it does create a situation where teams can be constituted which do not have an ethnic minority site visitor, or individuals who are sensitive to cultural diversity issues. An equitable balance between partial program and Office of Accreditation selection of site visit teams might be arrived at. Those programs that are having difficulty complying with Criterion II might have an ethnic minority site visitor assigned to the team.

Although strong efforts should be made to increase the number of ethnic minorities in the site visitor pool, it would not be in the best interest of the field to require that each site visit team have an ethnic minority person. Such a position could diminish the responsibility for all psychologists to be sensitive and responsive to cultural diversity issues. The thrust of the American Psychological Association

should be to sensitize all psychologists, particularly those in the site visitor pool, to these issues. This could be more systematically and thoroughly done through the Site Visitor Training Workshops which will become a requirement for all new site visitors in 1992 (Office of Accreditation, APA, 1991).

Efforts need to be made to increase the quality and uniformity of site visit reports, particularly around cultural diversity issues. Increasing and fine tuning the data available in this area through the program's self-study will be of help in such efforts. Adding a category on cultural and individual differences on the internship program site visit reports would be useful. The required Site Visitor Training Workshops would also increase the quality and uniformity of the site visit reports. A feedback mechanism on the quality of the site visit reports from the Committee on Accreditation to the site visitors on their reports would increase the quality of the reports.

The impact of the impending reorganization of the Committee on Accreditation on cultural diversity issues is unclear. The new C/A, which will be in place Fall, 1992, is to consist of a 19-person committee (American Psychological Association, 1991a). There are to be four domains represented on the C/A: (1) Domain I: Graduate Departments of Psychology (4 seats); (2) Domain II: Professional Schools and Training Programs (8 seats); (3) Domain III: Professional Practice (4 seats); and (4) Domain IV: The General Public (3 seats). The individuals for each of these seats are to be nominated by specific constituencies in the domains.

Reorganization of the C/A along these lines can potentially lead to a politicalization of the committee where the constituents from each of these domains believe and act as though they have to "represent" the domains from which they were nominated to the committee. Of crucial importance will be maintaining and increasing a cultural diversity perspective as reflects in the composition of the committee and members who are sensitive to and supportive of cultural diversity. Such a perspective by its very nature has to cut across and be reflected in all of the domains. To do otherwise would lead to a myopic view of accreditation and fragmentation in addressing cultural diversity issues.

Although it has been the position of this paper that APA accreditation can play and should have a distinct role in enhancing cultural diversity in graduate and professional training, it is not the sole responsibility of the Committee on Accreditation and the accreditation process to take on that task. This responsibility needs to be taken by all psychologists as reflected in the Bylaws of the American Psychological Association (1990a). . . . "To advance psychology as a science and profession and as a means of promoting human welfare" . . . and the ethical principles for psychologists which mandates that psychologists . . ." provide services and only use techniques for which they are qualified by training and experience (American Psychological Association, 1990b).

Efforts to enhance cultural diversity need to be reflected in all components of the American Psychological Association, including the Council of Representatives, Board of Directors, and the various boards, committees, and task forces that operate within the Association (American Psychological Association, 1991b). Cultural diversity issues should not remain primarily under the purview of the Board of Educational Affairs and the Board for the Advancement of Psychology in the Public Interest and the committees under each of these boards. Attention to cultural diversity issues at all these levels will allow psychology to grow as a discipline and as a profession and thereby address the pressing research, training, and service needs of ethnic minorities.

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# Empowerment in Group Therapy: Cognitive Therapy with African Americans in an Inner-City Psychiatric Clinic

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We describe a cognitive therapy group for depressed, African-American clients in the adult psychiatric outpatient clinic of an inner-city hospital. In eleven weekly sessions, cognitive restructuring techniques were integrated into a "support group" treatment model, which emphasized empowerment and peer support in developing more adaptive attitudes and behaviors. Besides empowerment, we define other factors central to effective group therapy with this population, such as a climate of respect, trust and validation, confidentiality, awareness of strengths and sensitivity to social issues. We indicate significant advantages of cognitive therapy, such as its practical, problem-solving orientation and emphasis on empowerment. Pretest-posttest administration of the Beck Depression Inventory revealed a mean improvement for the 5 subjects of 7 points or 43%; these results were substantiated by staff observations. We discuss cross-cultural issues, methodological limitations and implications for future research and treatment.

African-Americans in this country have come to distrust the field of psychiatry (Maultsby, 1990). Nowhere is this distrust greater than in the inner city, where blacks experience ongoing stress from poverty, racism, discrimination and the insensitivity of the social service system. Drugs, crime and the AIDS epidemic have taken their toll, and yet inner-city blacks feel alienated from the very system of mental health that is supposed to be helping them.

This sense of alienation and distrust may be attributed to a number of factors. For example, black people tend to be overdiagnosed and overmedicated, and to be treated according to racist stereotypes and misinformation (Maultsby, 1990). White clinicians may misinterpret blacks' behavior due to a lack of familiarity with black cultural norms, such as the value placed on spirituality, kinship and the spontaneous expression of affect (Mitchell-Jackson, 1982).

White psychotherapists may impose on their black clients the values of the dominant culture; both the goals and the process of therapy may be inappropriate to the person being treated. For example, the traditional medical model of psychiatry, which places the etiology of clients' problems within biochemical and intrapsychic pathology, may often ignore the social and interpersonal causes. It may neglect the many personal strengths and resources within the black community.

In order to be more responsive to the needs of millions of urban blacks, American psychiatry may need to make certain changes. For instance, mental health professionals could be more aware of their clients' strengths. Clinicians could encourage clients to define the problems to be addressed in therapy (Sager, Brayboy, & Waxenberg, 1970). The social support of friends, extended family, church and community could be tapped as a valuable therapeutic resource (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Thomas, Milburn, Brown, & Gary, 1988).

Instead of identifying cross-cultural differences as deficits, professionals could evaluate the behavior of African-American clients in terms of its adaptiveness: i.e., how well it works for the client in a particular situation (Mitchell-Jackson, 1982). Conveying respect for clients and validation of their experience may further reduce their sense of alienation. This is particularly important in the first sessions, when black clients may test a therapist's competence, commitment and comfort in working with them (Christmas & Christmas, 1989; Jenkins, 1985).

These principles are consistent with the concept of empowerment, which Boyd-Franklin (1989) defines as structuring therapeutic interventions so as to mobilize the ability of black clients and their families "to successfully interact with external systems" (p. 22). In other words, treatment is empowering when it enables clients to feel competent and confident enough to take an active role in improving the quality of their lives.

When inner-city blacks feel so powerless that they become depressed, they may require a form of psychotherapy that emphasizes empowerment. One such approach is Beck's (1979) cognitive therapy.

In cognitive therapy, clients learn to challenge their own negative and self-defeating beliefs, through exposing the irrationality of those beliefs, and through behavioral homework assignments that assist clients in developing more positive attitudes (Beck, Rush, Shaw, & Emery, 1979).

As compared to psychoanalytic therapy, cognitive-behavioral therapy may be more respectful of African Americans and less manipulative (Turner, 1982). For example, it fosters a more collaborative therapeutic relationship; the cognitive therapist is in a less authoritarian role and keeps less information hidden from clients. Furthermore, cognitive therapy does not victimize blacks by blaming the problems they encounter in society on intrapsychic conflicts or other pathological, mentalistic constructs (Jackson, 1976).

Group therapy is also particularly suited for minority clients, because it diffuses the authority of the therapist and thereby minimizes the impact of any classist or racist assumptions (McKinley, 1987). The support group model has the added advantages of peer validation, friendship and understanding. Together, group members can develop solutions to shared problems.

Inner-city blacks may internalize society's expectations of failure (Richardson, 1989). In order to challenge such deep-rooted hopelessness, a specialized treatment strategy is needed. Cognitive group therapy is an approach that combines empowerment, self-monitoring and skill development with the therapeutic benefits of observational learning and peer support.

## Method

### Subjects

In order to test the hypothesis that the cognitive therapy group format could be beneficial to African-American psychiatric patients within an inner-city setting, we selected a group of five outpatients from the adult psychiatric clinic of an inner-city hospital. The patients were selected by the following procedure.

First, referrals were solicited from clinic staff according to explicitly stated criteria: diagnosis of dysthymia, major depression or adjustment disorder with depressed mood; no diagnosis of bipolar disorder, schizoaffective disorder or depression with psychotic features; no diagnosis of borderline or antisocial personality disorder; no current substance abuse; depression not secondary to physical illness (e.g., pancreatitis); regular attendance of clinic.

The above criteria were intended to eliminate extraneous factors that might complicate the clinical picture and limit the effectiveness of cognitive therapy in the treatment of depression. Factors such as psychotic features and current substance abuse were seen as poor prognostic indicators and clinical syndromes requiring treatment in their own right.

After clients were referred for the therapy group, we reviewed their medical records. Clients who appeared to meet the criteria were given an hour-long interview, to determine both their appropriateness to the group and whether the group seemed to meet their own clinical needs.

The final sample consisted of three female and two male clients, all experiencing some type of depression. The age of group members ranged from 37 to 63, with a median age of 54. It should be noted that two additional clients initially agreed to participate in the group but did not come to any group meetings.

### Procedure

The cognitive therapy group was structured as a time-limited group, in order to ensure consistency of attendance and to cover a predetermined agenda (Coche, 1987). It ran for eleven weeks, with each weekly session lasting 90 minutes.

The group combined elements of the didactic and support-group approaches to group therapy; the didactic portion emphasized the cognitive therapy principles and techniques developed by Beck et al. (1979). Some of the behavioral exercises outlined by Burns (1980) were adapted to the group format. The following is a general syllabus of the group's agenda.

The first two sessions familiarized group members with Beck's (1972) cognitive theory of depression, along with the fundamental principles of cognitive therapy. The next three sessions introduced the types of cognitive distortions associated with depression (i.e., self-defeating beliefs), and rational re-

sponses for correcting those distortions (Burns, 1980).

Group members were given personal folders in which to record their thoughts and responses during the week; they were invited to share some of these with the group. Group members were helpful in identifying positive, rational responses to one another's self-critical thoughts. This formed a solid pillar of the group's framework of empowerment, for the experience of mutual encouragement and support reminded group members of their own capabilities.

While continuing to address the above themes, the next unit of four sessions focused on the social isolation and anhedonia that make depression such a painful and cryogenic condition. Group members identified the ways in which they avoid people and potentially enjoyable activities. Their examples of negative self-statements were listed on large newsprint, particularly their pessimistic expectations or predictions that they would find activities unsatisfying.

Group members were encouraged to test out their predictions during the week. Most were surprised to discover that they actually enjoyed activities — alone or with others — much more than they had predicted. For example, one 48-year-old unemployed mother said that she had enjoyed going shopping by herself. A 58-year-old woman who was recovering from cancer described how she had enjoyed a trip to the beach with a friend.

Using the techniques they had learned to correct their own cognitive distortions, group members were able to challenge their pessimistic assumptions and begin to think more positively. As a result, they also ventured out more and began to engage in rewarding and uplifting activities. Some became more actively involved in church, a source of great spiritual fulfillment, and in church-related social activities.

In the remaining two sessions of the group, clients learned how to combat their own procrastination, by challenging their societally-reinforced expectations of failure. Over the course of the group, they were encouraged to develop an awareness of their own strengths and unique capabilities. They were empowered to see themselves as competent individuals, able to withstand and respond both effectively and appropriately to the daily challenges of inner-city life.

For example, a common source of stress was the visit to a social service agency. As one group member stated, "A lot of the time, when we're forced to go to these agencies to straighten our lives out, people just aren't listening." Yet group members became less anxious about such visits as they became less self-critical and more assertive. One factor that greatly contributed to this development was the facilitation of mutual support.

Cognitive therapy techniques were consistently integrated into a support-group atmosphere. Rather than strictly adhering to a didactic agenda, ample time was allowed in each group meeting for members to talk with one another: to discuss their triumphs and their fears, their friends and families and the meaningful details of their daily lives.

This, then, was the emotional wellspring of the group. It was the constantly replenished source of spiritual nourishment: the pool of praise and validation that motivated these people to come each week and added energy to the cognitive interventions. When in the last session group members were invited to express their feelings about terminating the group, they unanimously affirmed their desire to maintain the ties they'd formed with one another.

In order to assess the group's impact on clients' depressive thoughts, feelings and behaviors, we administered the Beck Depression Inventory, or BDI (Beck, 1978), at the beginning and end of the group. We also solicited staff members' behavioral observations of group members during the course of the group.

## Results

Pretest-posttest administration of the BDI revealed an average improvement of 7 points or 43%, with substantial improvements in areas such as dysphoric affect, self-criticism, self-esteem, sleep disturbance, hopelessness and social isolation. Clinic staff described group members as less withdrawn, more cheerful and more assertive. In fact, group members even persuaded clinic administrators to make cognitive therapy available to them on an ongoing basis.

## Discussion

The results suggest that cognitive therapy groups may be clinically useful in the treatment of depressed, African-American psychiatric outpatients in an inner-city setting. Such groups, even of short duration, may yield substantial improvements in diverse areas of depressive symptomatology, including affect, behavior and cognition.

Cognitive therapy groups offer a number of specific advantages for the treatment of inner-city blacks. First and foremost is the principle of empowerment, as defined by Boyd-Franklin (1989).

Because of the group's emphasis on personal control and its collegial, support-group structure, group members felt empowered to assert their rights as individuals and began to feel more confident in their daily social interactions. They experienced less of the learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975) that is so central to depression and may result from years of racism and discrimination. Through the group's practical, cognitive-therapy approach, clients learned to develop more adaptive patterns of thinking.

The therapy group created a climate of respect, trust and personal validation; this climate seemed to contribute directly to the clients' feeling of well-being. Group members remarked that they saw the group as a place where they could talk about their problems in a safe setting. Of course, this would not have been possible without an explicit policy of confidentiality about information disclosed in the group.

Additional curative factors included opportunities for observational learning and constructive feedback; a sense of togetherness (or "We're all in the same boat"); and certain therapist characteristics, such as empathy, genuineness, awareness of clients' strengths and sensitivity to social issues. In particular, it was important for the group's co-therapists to be familiar with issues related to poverty, racism, etc., and to pay attention to clients' spiritual, social and emotional resources for coping with such problems.

Since this group's male and female co-therapists were both white, there were clearly opportunities for client and therapist racial attitudes to impact on the treatment process — particularly on relationship variables such as the establishment of trust and rapport. In cross-cultural psychotherapy, this process has been described as "joining" with clients (Minuchin, 1974) or sending out good "vibes" (Boyd-Franklin, 1989).

Although some degree of initial distrust is inevitable in cross-cultural group therapy, certain behaviors by the co-therapists may have added to their effectiveness with this treatment population. For example, they practiced active listening skills, rather than lecturing to clients in an authoritarian manner. The therapists used a respectful tone of voice, asked group members how they wished to be addressed, etc. They conveyed an attitude of interest and concern, rather than a condescending or patronizing one.

This climate of respect set the stage for the activation of individual and group healing processes, such as validation, empowerment and the enhancement of self-esteem. However, these processes occurred within a social context of continuing stressful life experiences.

That is, clients left the supportive environment of the therapy group each week, only to be faced with ongoing problems such as poverty, racism and discrimination. (Of course, they also found many sources of strength and support within their community.)

What is significant about the cognitive therapy group is that it helped clients develop a sense of effectance and the cognitive skills to cope with these problems more successfully. Said one young man who was struggling with symptoms of the AIDS virus, "I can actually set my life up so that most of the time I feel okay."

Although the results of the present study are encouraging, they must be interpreted with sufficient attention to the study's methodological limitations. For example, sample size was small, and since there was no control group or random assignment of subjects, it does not constitute experimental research.

The internal validity of the one-group pretest-posttest design may be threatened by extraneous variables such as history, maturation and testing (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Pretest sensitization and reactivity may particularly threaten the study's external validity; e.g., subjects may have believed they were "supposed to" appear less depressed when taking the posttest. And staff ratings may have been biased by subjectivity or knowledge of subjects' group membership.

Despite the above limitations, we may consider the implications of this study for future research and clinical work with this particular population. Future studies might address the specific factors believed to facilitate cognitive group therapy with African Americans: i.e., empowerment, respect, validation, trust and therapist sensitivity. Each of these factors could be examined in a laboratory setting under experimental conditions, so that the mechanisms of change could be more explicitly delineated.

American psychiatry has not adequately addressed the unique attributes and treatment needs of people of color, including inner-city blacks. If we are to enter the next millennium with a mental health system that is helpful to all, that does not alienate specific groups of individuals, then we must now forge that system from the stuff of compassion. One way to do this is through empowerment: to appreciate and strive to liberate the potential for actualization that resides within every woman and man.

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